THE ESTATE OF THE EMPIRE, OR An Abridgement of the Laws and Government OF GERMANY,

CAST INTO Dialogues for the greater conveniency of a young Prince that was instructed therein,

By *Lewis Du-May* Knight, *Sieur de Sallettes*, Counsellor to his Highness of *Wirtemberg*.

Translated into *French* by *D' Alexis* Esq; Doctor of Laws, and Advocate in Parliament.

Now faithfully rendered into English.

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William Morice.

Ad Amiciſsimum

Gulielmum Godolphin

ſuâ virtute

quàm quovis titulo

inſigniorem.

Intervalla dabant exempta laboribus iſtum,
Quem tua limâſſent otia docta, librum.
Si placeat legiſſe, ſat eſt; ſin judice mendas
Ungue notes, melior fiet, eóq; tuus.

The Engliſh Tranſlator to the Reader.

Reader,

THis Book is a Traveller, as the Prince for whoſe ſake the Author compoſed it. It was born in *Germany*; from whence it paſſed into *France*, where it was kindly received, and Naturalized: Now being arrived in *England*, and finding ſome private welcome, it deſires at leaſt to be a Denizen here. What it contains, will briefly appear in the following *Summary* of the Dialogues; But why I undertook to render it into Engliſh, beſides the entertainment of ſome of my vacant hours, *I* have little to juſtify my ſelf, but the zeal which every Chriſtian ſhould

have at this time, to arm himself with the best weapons he hath, to oppose the Barbarous proceedings of a proud and implacable Enemy. My Magazin and Artillery extends to no more then Pen and ink; with which I vainly fansied I might seem to do something; As when the industrious and judicious Mr. *Dugdale Norroy* King of Arms, perceiving that slow-paced ruine, or (which was worse) hasty impiety had shaken most of the sacred structures in this Kingdom, and threatened all the rest, thought it a provident (but we may justly call it a generous and meritorious) work, to save them in *Effigie*, and keep up both their memory and models in exact brass Cuts, adding his own profound Researches and elaborate

rate discourses, which are indeed —*monumentum ære perennius*; so (though the comparison fall infinitely short in most things) there being now too much reason to apprehend, that the dreadful inundation of the Mahometans (without almost a miracle) is ready to overwhelm the State, Government, Laws and Princes of *Germany*, nay, *to take away both their place and Nation*, I conceived it both pious and seasonable, as far as lay in me, to rescue that noble Countrey from oblivion, by publishing this small Treatise in *English*, wherein the marks and footsteps of that Empire may remain amongst us. Thou wilt find it to be a Translation (if the Title-page had not confest it) with that usual & unavoidable imper-

fection, that notions passing out of one Language into another do, as it happens in the transfusion of liquors into divers vessels, carry much dregs along with them, and alwayes taste of the Cask. *I* may perchance be blamed with reason enough for following the word too close, yet *I* think *I* may safely say in general *I* have not gone far from the sense. But certainly if *I* had put it into finer Language and more elegant expressions, the work had been so far mine, and so much worse. That, for the style; as for the matter, *I* give thee that frank verse of the Poet in English,

— — *If better things be known to thee,*
Kindly impart; if not, use these with me.

A Sum-

A Summary of the Dialogues.

This Treatise contains ten Dialogues between a Prince and his Governor, who teaches him all that there is considerable in the Empire. For this Book comprehends in brief all that the Doctors of Law and the Interpreters of the Golden Bull have written thereupon; as may be seen in the reading of it.

I. Dialogue.

This Dialogue serves for an Introduction to the rest, and the Governor having shown his young Prince, that he should learn to be a good Christian, before he learn to be a good Prince; makes him understand, that it is necessary for him to go out of his Fathers Court, and travel through Forein Countries, as a means to become such. Here it is discoursed at large of certain Travellers that learn nothing but the worst fashions and customs of other Nations. Then he showes the advantage of Travelling with judgement, and in company of such as know what is requisite to be observed in every part of Europe. After that, he makes it appear, that it is easy to become a wise Counsellor and an able Souldier by Travelling, wherein a

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man learns to know the humour of people, and the Languages. Hereupon he speaks of the corruption of Languages, the cause thereof, and other curious notions. Lastly he maketh his German Prince *understand that he ought to know the* French *and* Italian *Tongues, and that, without busying himself upon sciences that have more vanity then solidity, he should learn the art of Governing well, and consequently the Estate of the Empire, which contains almost all that a* Prince *ought to know.*

II. Dialogue.

This Dialogue containes the Estate of the Empire in general, and therein is shown, that the Emperor is a Monarch, though he have not an absolute power to do all that he pleases, forasmuch as the Princes of Germany *acknowledge that all their dignity is communicated to them by and from him. He can create Kings, Arch Dukes, &c. but cannot confer Ecclesiastical Benefices, and why.*

In the beginning of this Dialogue the Author sayes, that his Book shall treat of the Head and principal Members of the Empire; *of their power & authority, of the Origine, progress, and alliances of the illustrious Houses; of the rank and place they hold in the Assemblies; of the Branches of every Family, of the causes of love, hatred, and*

jealousie

jealousie amongst them, &c. After that, he proves that the Estate of the Empire is Monarchical, and confuting the contrary opinions, he establishes his own. And because the Emperor hath not right to confer Ecclesiastical Benefices, he renders the reason thereof; and makes it clear, that notwithstanding all that, he is the first Monarch in the world. And forasmuch as he is made so by Election, the Author speaks of the Electors, their beginning, their power, their order, and their number; and showing what necessity there was to increase the last, he brings the reasons which the Ancients had to raise to that dignity three Ecclesiastical, and four Secular Princes, who have power to create and depose the Emperor, and the King of the Romans. Then he speaks of the Ceremonies used at their Coronation, and of the power both of the one and the other.

III. Dialogue.

In this Dialogue he speaks of the Estates of the Empire; and having shown that those which are so, have many rights of Regality, he passes to the consideration of the House of Austria, *discovers its original, how long it hath born the Imperial Crown, into how many Branches it is divided, how it came to be so powerful, and what are its priviledges. After that, he discourses of the* Palatine, Saxon, *and* Brandenbourg *Houses, and sayes all that the curious can desire to know about them.*

IV.

A Summary of

IV. V. *Dialogues.*

In these two Dialogues he treats of all the Secular Princes *of the Empire, and of every House in particular, assuring the curious they shall there find wherewithal to satisfie themselves in their search after the antiquity, descendancies, rights, rank, titles, alliances, and Branches of the Houses of* Brunswick, Meklebourg, Wirtemberg, Hesse, Baden, Holstein, Saxon-Lawembourg, Anhalt, Hohenzolleren, Aremberg, Henneberg, *and* East Friseland; *in like manner as they saw the greatness of the Electoral Houses in the preceding Dialogues. And all along where occasion offers any* Political *question, he resolves it briefly; not forgetting the praises of men of merit, of Universities, and of Colledges, which are very many in* Germany. *And because it is almost impossible but there should be some jealousie, hatred or envy between so many Houses of equal condition, he layes down the causes thereof; and shows how those that precede by turns, take their place; and how many voices they have in the Diets of the Empire; who ought to inherit those Houses, in case they come to be totally extinguished; in what Houses there is right of* Primogeniture, *and what Religion they profess.*

VI. Di-

VI. Dialogue.

This Dialogue will give you a perfect knowledge of the Eccleſiaſtical Princes of Germany, *wherein he ſhows how many there were in former times, and how many there are now, as well* Biſhops, Abbots, Abbeſſes, *as other Eccleſiaſtical Prelates. How many Orders of Knighthood, what power they have, and what obſervance they are under. And becauſe ordinarily ſome Churchman is Director of the Circles of the Empire, he ſpeaks of the Directors of all the Circles; then he diſcourſes of every Biſhoprick in particular: And afterwards he paſſes to the* Abbots, *and to the original of the Teutonique Knights; how they became ſo potent, and how they have loſt thoſe great Provinces they had acquired. After that, he ſhows how the* Prelates *are become ſo rich, how they obtain their Dignities, which he makes appear not to be after the ſame manner now as anciently.*

VII. Dialogue.

Here he ſpeaks of the Counts and Barons of the Empire; and the word Count, called Graff *in Dutch, gives occaſion to enquire into the origin of* Palſgrave, Margrave, Landgrave, *and* Burgrave, *and to know how many there be, when, and how they became great: from whence the title of Archduke came: and whether the dignity of a Duke*

Duke was alwayes more illuſtrious then that of a Count: He proves that there are ſeveral ſorts of Dukes and Counts, and confutes the opinion of thoſe that hold, an Emperor ſhould have four Kings under him, a King four Dukes, a Duke four Counts, a Count four Barons, and a Baron four Caſtellans. The Counts were anciently no more then Iudges; and he ſhows how, and at what time they got the inheritance, and became Lords of their Counties. At preſent thoſe of the Empire *have place and voice in the Diets, are almoſt equal to the Princes, and many of them coyn money. He ſpeaks of the Houſes of* Naſſau, Hohenzolleren, Furſtemberg, *and of many others in particular; and then he paſſes to the Barons, who differ not from the Counts but in name, and ſets down a Catalogue of them: Then having diſtinguiſhed them from thoſe which the* Emperor *creates in his Hereditary Provinces, he ends this Dialogue with a touch upon the new Barons, who would have the ſame title that the old ones have.*

VIII. Dialogue.

Here will be ſeen the difference between a Knight and a Gentleman, and between Knights among themſelves. There are four kinds of them in Germany, *where the Gentlemen are ſeparated from the Body of the Lords, and are not admitted into the Eſtates of the* Empire, *though many of them hold immediately of the* Emperor; *and they*

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are those onely of Swaben, Franconia, *the* Rhine, *and Lower* Alsatia, *who observe a kind of Aristocratical Republique among themselves, whereof he speaks at large, as also of their Order and their priviledges : Then he passes to the Gentlemen Subjects, and because they prove their antiquity by the Turnaments wherein they appeared as Parties, he speaks of Turnaments, and the Laws therein observed heretofore, and at what time, and by whom they were brought into* Germany, *by whom called together, and in what place: From whence he takes occasion to discourse of the Cities, their beginning, their beauty, their priviledges, and their incredible power : Then he tells what each Imperial City hath most considerable, and how they preserve their liberty.*

IX. Dialogue.

In this Dialogue he speaks of the Universities of Germany, *of their foundation, their number, and their usefulness. Then he passes to the administration of Justice, and showes how it was administred in the time of the first Emperors, and how it is at this present: at what time the Parliament or Chamber of Soverain Justice was made sedentary, of how many persons it is composed, of what quality they ought to be, and of what matters they take cognizance. After that, he discourses at large of the Diets, of him that hath the power to call them together, after what manner he*

doth

doth it, who are the persons that he calls thither, who they be that ought to come, when, and whither they are to be summoned, and of the rank which the Electors, Princes, Lords and Cities hold, when the Emperor presides there; how suffrages are given; and lastly in what manner Conclusions are resolved on, with all that can be desired upon this subject.

X. Dialogue.

Here is an abridgement of the last Wars of Germany, *which shewes in what condition the Empire was when the* Peace *was concluded: where may be seen the Confederates of both* Parties, *and the Battels and Encounters of Armies briefly set down, with the advantage which each* Party *had therein. After which, the* Peace *was made; where he speaks of the satisfaction which the Confederates obtained, and of the Troops that remain in* Germany *still. Then he adds a word of the* Golden Bull, *which contains the fundamental Laws of the Empire.*

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The State
OF
THE EMPIRE,
OR
An Abridgement of the Government
OF
GERMANY.

Cast into Dialogues for the easier accommodation of a young Prince, who was instructed therein by his Governor.

Dialogue the First.

That it is requisite for German *Princes to travel, and to learn the French and Italian Languages, and the State of the Empire.*

P. HAving already suckt in the milk of piety, and learnt that a Christian Prince ought evermore to have before his eyes the fear of God, the salvation of his Soul, the good of his Sub-

jects, and the honor of his Houſe; I feel my ſelf touched with an emulous deſire to equal my anceſtors; and to that purpoſe I would willingly joyn Political and Military knowledge with moral and Chriſtian vertues. But conſidering that life is ſhort, and that I muſt know many things to attain the end I aim at, I ſhould loſe all hope of being able to arrive there, if I were not aſſured that you will level and ſmooth the difficulties that may occur to me in the way. Oblige me then, by finding out ſome new method, and leading me by a ſhort cut to the perfection I wiſh for.

G. All men, and Princes eſpecially, being born to do good unto many, I am glad to underſtand you are ſo deſirous to learn the means; and that in imitation of your Progenitors you will couple warlike and peaceable vertues together, to know at all times how to ſerve the Empire, to rule your own State, to protect your Subjects, to honor the good, and chaſtiſe the wicked. Though then life be ſhort, and the perfection you purſue not eaſie to be met with at Court, where every thing ſeems to ſtand in oppoſition againſt your laudable deſign; yet if you have a deſire to equal your Predeceſſors, and the courage to overcome thoſe difficulties that may offer themſelves, I ſhall willingly contribute thereunto with my uttermoſt induſtry; and endeavour to ſhew you how much I eſteem your reſolution. Do me

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the favour only to change the pleaſures of the body into thoſe of the mind, and to ſeek your ſole content in the acquiſition of thoſe things which may raiſe you above other noble perſons of your age and quality.

P. You have no more to do, but to ſet me down the rules you would have me obſerve; for the choice which my Lord and Father hath made of your perſon to be the guide and director of mine, and the knowledge I have of your vertue, have made me reſolve to ſubmit my will to yours; and I give you my word that nothing ſhall be able to withdraw me from the reſolution I have taken to obey your orders exactly, and to do all that you ſhall think good and conducible to my progreſs therein.

G. Your generous diſpoſition doth not ſuffer me to queſtion that which you promiſe me; and for my part I am ready to lay out all that I can and all that I know for your advantage. Now foraſmuch as forain languages ſerve for an ornament to perſons of your condition, I am of opinion that you ſhould learn them.

P. Your will ſhall be my law in any thing; but if it be poſſible, make me learn things with languages, which are but their inſtruments and conveyances.

G. I mean ſo; and I judge it neceſſary that you ſhould learn to diſcourſe in Latine, French, Italian and Dutch, of every thing that Europe affords the moſt conſiderable,

P. I believe it is impoſſible to learn what you would have me, without travelling; and oftentimes travelling inſtructs us but little, or to become worſe then we went out, at the charges both of the ſoul and bodies health too.

G. Few men have reaped the fruit that was hoped of their travel, becauſe there are not many that travel with judgement. Many travellers returning to their own homes bring back from abroad the affected delicacie of the Engliſh, the variable modiſhneſs of the French, the dangerous diſſimulation of the Italians, and the unſufferable pride of the Spaniards. Some others who think they have ſpent their time very well, tell you, they have taken notice in *England* of the magnificence of *London*, the conveniency of the *Thames*, and the beauty of *Whitehall*: that in *France* they admired the throngs of *Paris*, the ſumptuouſneſs of *Fontaine-bleau*, and the majeſty of St. *Denys*: that in *Italy* they conſidered the wonders of *Venice*, the curioſity of *Belveder*, and the nobility of *Naples*: that in *Spain* they have ſeen the Traffick of *Seville*, the greatneſs of *Lisbon*, and the admirable ſtructure of the *Eſcurial*. Some come back loaden with ribbons upon their clothes, cuffs at their legs, and towels about their necks. Others return ſtuft with a falſe opinion of knowledge in their fancy, an aiery imagination of wiſdom in their underſtanding, and all kind of vanity in their memory.

P. Were

P. Were it not better that ſuch men ſhould ſtay at home, then wander about the world to learn nothing but to become dunces?

G. Such perſons doubtleſs would do more adviſedly to remain in their villages, then to go abroad. Doing ſo, a man may be ignorant without ſerving an apprentiſhip to it: and there is leſs diſhonor in knowing nothing, when one doth not take himſelf to be an able man, then to fancy much after having ſeen the world, and yet not be able to open his mouth without being ridiculous to all the company. But all this ſhould not perſwade you that travelling is uſeleſs. Wine is not bad but to thoſe that miſ-uſe it; and Fire burns none but the unwary: it is even ſo of Travel; it embelliſheth the minds of thoſe that uſe it prudently, and ſerves like glue to faſten thoſe in vice who haunt vicious company. The Traveller ſhould make vertue his aim, and having learnt to underſtand Nations, he ſhould imitate what they have of good, and eſchew all the reſt.

P. I have always thought till now, that they who can diſcourſe pertinently of all they have ſeen in their Travels, have employed their time very well abroad.

G. It is mere caſting away a mans time, his pains, and his expence, to learn only to talk of the Temples of *Rome*, the Bridges of *Paris*, the Arſenal of *Venice*, the Frigats of *England*, the Chanels of *Holland*, the Perſpective of

Ruel, and the Volerie of *Fontaine-Bleau*. The Prince that travels ſhould heedfully regard the Laws and Fundamental Maxims of States, the Revenew of Principalities, the inclination of Soverains, the order of their Court, their Alliances, their Power, their Favorites, and the Reception which they give one another. In a word, Heroes ſhould learn Heroical Sciences, and the care of a King ſhould be to Reign well.

P. By Heroical Sciences, do you mean the Treatiſe of Arms and Heraldry, to which the Author thereof *Sieur de la Colombiere* gives that Title?

G. That Treatiſe is well worth the reading, but it contains not that which I call an Heroical Science. By thoſe Sciences I underſtand all that leads Princes on to Immortality; for example, the Art of ſubduing ones ſelf, and of conquering his Enemy; the Mathematicks, and the Art Military, which teaches them to fortify places, to lodge Armies advantagiouſly, to draw up a Body in Battalia, to lead them on in a Fight, and to ſhew themſelves eminent examples to their followers, both by their quickneſs of Spirit and ſtrength of Body.

P. Are thoſe things to be learnt by travelling?

G. Travelling layes the ſeed of thoſe virtues in our hearts, which prick us forward to the purſuit of Immortality. For he that hath

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ſeen Europe with judgment, knowes at his return every thing that can carry him on to glorious Actions; he underſtands the Intereſt of all Princes; he ſees what danger *Italy* is in by having one or more Enemies, and judges of the remedy that may be applied to it; he comprehends the wayes of maintaining the liberty of *Germany*; and when he comes into a Councel, it muſt be acknowledged by thoſe that hear him diſcourſe, that he hath profited more in a Travel of two years, then if he had ſtayed ten in his Study.

P. I might eaſily confeſs to you, that the converſation of ſeveral perſons increaſeth prudence; but I do not perceive how the ſeeing of Forain Countreys can make us able Souldiers.

G. Travel teacheth us to underſtand the plenty of Countreys, the Fords of Rivers, the conveniency of Bridges, the diſtance of places, the ſtrength of Cities, the number of the people, the inclination of the Subjects, the humour of Princes, the Sympathy and Antipathy of Nations, and many other things which may inſtruct a General of an Army and a Counſellor of State, giving them particular advantages. Travel doth alſo give us leſſons of Temperance, Modeſty, Patience, and the Languages, which are uſeful to all men, but neceſſary to thoſe who would have any Command in Armies.

P. Languages are so necessary to persons of Command, that our Ancestors would advance no man to the Imperial Dignity, that was not able to speak *Latin*, *Italian*, *Sclavonian*, and *Dutch*. And the Emperor *Frederick* II. besides these advantages could speak elegant *French*, *Spanish*, and *Turkish*; and, which was very rare in his time, he was skill'd in the Ancient and vulgar *Greek*.

G. The Emperor *Frederick* the second of that name, and the last of the House of *Suevia* or *Swaben*, with whom the Majesty of the Empire was buried for many years, was both Valiant and Learned; and if you employ your excellent natural endowments well, you will become so too: you have a good Judgment, a happy Memory, a sound Body, and a vigorous Complexion.

P. I am, God be thanked, of a strong Temper; and I retain long enough what I have once learnt. But why is it necessary to learn so many Languages, if *Latin* be sufficient to hold conference with Strangers, and *Dutch* to employ my cares upon the good of the affairs of the Empire, and the administration of my Fathers States, if God give me the grace to come to the Government.

G. I know that the *Latin* and *Dutch* Languages may serve your turn, and that a Prince may Reign piously, justly, and religiously, without the knowledge of Forain Tongues.

Nay

Nay I know one, who is even the Tutelar Angel of his Subjects, and who without haveing learnt either *Latin* or *French*, governs his State in the fear of God, and without oppreſſing any man hath paid his debts, and built a Caſtle of a marvellous bigneſs; while others more knowing than he have brought poverty upon their Subjects, and left it to their own children. But the intercourſe of buſineſs which we have with Strangers ſuffers us not to neglect their Languages, without the hazard of incurring ſome inconvenience thereby.

P. I underſtand by what you ſaid laſt, that one may be a good Prince, though he have not ſtudied; and yet that you would have me to poſſeſs a reaſonable knowledge of Forain Languages, that I may not ſtand in need of an Interpreter to deal with other Potentates that have affairs in *Germany*, or Lands lying within the limits of the Empire: which would oblige me as well to underſtand *Swediſh* and *Spaniſh*, as *French* and *Italian*; ſeeing the Crown of *Sweden* poſſeſſeth a good part of the Lower *Saxony*, and that of *Spain* more than half of the *Netherlands*.

G. It were good to know the Languages you mention; but being it is impoſſible to maſter them all, one ſhould endeavour to learn the moſt neceſſary. *Spaniſh* is the nobleſt of all the baſtard Languages, and I know never

never a one of them that pleaseth me more; but the King of *Spain* making use of *Burgundians* to treat with us, and *Dutch* being no less common amongst the better sort of *Swedes* than the *Swedish* it self, methinks one may better want the *Swedish* and *Spanish*, than the *French* and *Italian* Languages.

P. Why do you call *Spanish* a bastard Language?

G. I call it so, because it is not a Mother Tongue, but compounded of the *Latin*, *Gothick*, *Arabick*, and old *Spanish*; for the *Romans*, the *Goths*, and the *Moors*, having Reigned many ages in *Spain*, introduced a mixture of all those Languages.

P. If mixture only be enough to bastardize a Language, there are but few Legitimate; for there be many Greek words found in the Latin, and many Latin and French in our Dutch. And questionless it is for this cause, that *Lewis* Prince of *Anhalt* obliged those of the Fructifying Company, or the Society of good Wits, to avoid that medley with all possible care.

G. Greek words that are found in the Latin Tongue, or Forain terms, which vanity rather than necessity hath introduced into ours, do not qualify them to be of the same nature with the *Spanish*. The *Romans* and the *Germans* have admitted those stranger words by way of wantonness, and may do well enough without

without them, if they will; on the contrary, the *Spaniards* have ſo few of their own, that if they ſhould reſtore to the *Latines* and *Arabians* what they have ſtollen from them, they would no longer be able to expreſs their conceptions, but would remain as deſtitute of words, as *Horace's* Jackdaw ſaw her ſelf ſtript of feathers, when every bird had reſumed his own.

P. Is *French* in any better condition? and can it well paſs without thoſe Latin terms which the *Romans* brought in while they held the *Gauls* under their juriſdiction?

G. I do not think it is, being certainly perſwaded that all Nations which have long been under obedience to Strangers, have loſt the purity of their ancient Languages. So that we have more reaſon to wonder that the *French* brought ſo few *Dutch* words into *Gaul*, when they laid the foundation of a flouriſhing Kingdom there, then that the *French* Language is half *Latin*.

P. Were the *Gauls* ever ſubject to a *German* power?

G. Yes; for all Hiſtorians do unanimouſly agree, that *Pharamond* the firſt King of *France* was Duke of *Franconia*; that he extended his Empire all along the *Rhine*; that *Clodius* his Son proceeded as far as *Cambray*, and that *Merovée* his Granchild ſetled his Royal Seat in *Paris*; from whence *Clovis* the great brought

brought *Burgundy* under his Dominion, and forced the *Goths* to forſake thoſe parts of *Gaul* about *Narbon*. Afterwards his ſucceſſors degenerating from his virtue, and leaving the management of affairs to the Maiors or Stewards of their Palace, *Charles Martel* (who preſerved Chriſtendom by the victory he obtained at *Tours*) gave ſo much reputation to his Son *Pepin*, that he eaſily ſeated himſelf upon his maſters Throne, having thruſt *Childerick* the Lazy into a Monaſtery.

P. Therefore Princes ought to take ſpecial heed that their ſervants make not themſelves great at the expence of their maſters Honour and authority; for a Prince without authority is like a head without eyes, or a body without a Soul.

G. Authority is the ſoul of Government, and the reputation of a Prince is the ſupport of his State: without theſe things there is nothing to be ſeen but contempt, diſobedience and rebellion. The moſt moderate ſeeing their Prince devoid of theſe good qualities, deſire that he may obtain them; the moſt Religious pray God to give him them; the moſt couragious grumble; and the moſt ſeditious loſing all reſpect talk of putting another into his place. The unfortunate life and death of *Henry* the Third King of *France*, are unqueſtionable evidences of this truth.

P. How ſhould one do to gain authority and reputation? *G.* Autho-

G. Authority depends upon reputation; for the people believing that their Prince is valiant, liberal, and prudent, doth readily obey his will, and receive his Commands with reſpect, honour and reverence. Now to gain the reputation of a prudent Prince, he ſhould be very careful that his ſervants and Miniſters be friends to the publick good, affable, modeſt and generous: To be eſteemed valiant, it is ſufficient that he ſhew a conſtant reſolution to maintain his People in their ancient Splendor, even at the expence of his life; that adverſity caſt him not down, nor proſperity make him inſolent: And to give a fairer luſtre to his liberality, he ſhould take care that the little he beſtowes, ariſe not out of the oppreſſion of his People. If it be thus indeed, then without being preſent every day at Councel, without drawing his ſword, or giving much, his Subjects, his Friends, and his Enemies too, will eſteem him valiant, liberal, and prudent, and all of them fearing to offend him, will pay him the duties of Subjects, Friends, and Neighbours.

P. A Prince that carries true piety in his heart, and all Chriſtian virtues in his ſoul, needs not doubt but God will diſſipate and diſappoint all the evil deſigns of his mutinous Subjects, and ambitious Neighbours. But what Countrey-man was *Pepin?*

G. It

G. It is generally ſaid that he was originally a *German*; nay, many think that *Charlemagne* his ſon was born near the *Rhine*: *John de Serres* in his Inventary of the Hiſtory of *France*, *Tom.* 1. *pag.* 315. ſays, he was born at *Wormes*, crowned at *Spire*, and buried at *Aix*; and in *pag.* 324. of the ſame Tome, he ſays, he was buried at *Aix* where he was born. How ever it be, they were both of them Kings of *France*, and the latter won ſo much renown by preſerving the Church of *Rome*, and defending the Pope, who was unjuſtly aſſailed by *Deſiderius* King of *Lombardy*, that the Pope, the Senate and people of *Rome* proclaimed him Emperor in the year of our Lord 800.

P. I thought it was Pope *Leo* III. only that divided the Empire, and gave the Weſtern part, with the name of Emperor, to *Charlemagne*, when he made him Advocate of the Holy See.

G. The Popes labour to perſwade us ſo, and would have it believed that the Crowns of *Lombardy* and *Rome* are eſſential to the Imperial dignity; ſaying, that the Emperor becomes King of *Germany* by the election which the Princes make of his perſon, but acquires the name of Emperor, *Ceſar*, and *Auguſtus*, by the conſecration and approbation which he receives from the Pope: But this opinion of the Popes, and of ſome writers their Votaries, is ridiculous; otherwiſe the Heathen Emperors would

would not have been lawful Emperors; and those professing Christianity, who resided at *Constantinople* since *Constantine* the Great until *Constantine Paleologus*, nay, those of *Germany* since *Ferdinand* the First till this very day, would have been Usurpers, having been Crowned neither at *Milan* nor *Rome*; which cannot be said without the guilt of High Treason. From whence you ought to conclude, that the Emperors are so by the Grace of God, without being any way beholden for it to the See of *Rome*.

P. Did the posterity of *Charlemagne* keep possession of the Empire and the Kingdom of *France* for any long time?

G. It held the Empire and *France* together not very long: for the children of *Lewis* the *Debonaire* sharing their Fathers Estates, that division weakned the House, occasioned Wars between the brethren, and was the cause that his Grandchildren lost the Empire in the year 912. and the Kingdom of *France* in the year 987. at which time *Hugh Capet* made *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine* Uncle by the Fathers side to *Lewis* the Fifth to be declared unworthy to succeed to the Crown of his Progenitors, because he had done homage to *Germany* for his Dutchy. So the race of *Charles* the Great, to whom all Christendom doth owe so much, fell totally from their greatness, and made room in *Germany* for the *Saxons*, and in

France

France for the *Capetians*, who ſet up the Empire and *France* again in their firſt luſtre.

P. Was *Hugh Capet* a Frenchman?

G. He was born in *France*, but a *Saxon* by extraction; for *Charlemagne* coming to an agreement with *Witikind* of *Saxony* after a long and bloody War, took one of *Witikinds* ſons into *France* with him, and did ſo much for him, that his ſucceſſors raiſed themſelves with eaſe to the higheſt Offices of State; and at length *Hugh Capet* put the Crown upon his own head, and tranſmitted it to his deſcendents, who enjoy it ſtill with more happineſs and authority then their predeceſſors did.

P. I learn by what you tell me, that all the Kings who have reigned in *France* ſince *Pharamond*, came out of *Germany*; and I am glad to underſtand ſo much, becauſe it is an honor for our Nation, to have given Kings unto ſo conſiderable a part of Europe. But methinks this diſcourſe draws us much off of our mark; and being to ſpeak of Languages, and of the place where they ſhould be learnt, we allow that ſubject the leaſt ſhare of our thoughts.

G. It is true indeed, that we make long digreſſions, but they bring us nearer to the end we aim at; for the beſt way to learn Languages, is to ſpeak and diſcourſe with thoſe that have the reputation of ſpeaking well.

P. Do not all Frenchmen and Italians ſpeak their own native Language well?

G. There

G. There are Provinces in *France* and *Italy* where you meet with few perſons that ſpeak French or Italian purely; and never a one where the vulgar hath not ſome terms out of uſe, and rejected by the learned. So that thoſe who travel to learn languages, ſhould take care to make their ſtay in places where the common people have the beſt accent, and the leaſt barbarous phraſes.

P. Where ſhould *Italian* be learnt?

G. You know that the inundation of people, who, to ſhow the Romans that they were not invincible, came at ſeveral times out of *Gaul* and *Germany*, ſo corrupted the Latine in *Italy*, that it degenerated into a language exceedingly mingled. Since that time the great wits, as *Petrarch*, *Boccace*, *Arioſto*, *Taſſo*, *Bembo*, and many others, have ſo cultivated it, that their writings do in no wiſe give place to the elegancy of the Greeks and Latines. Now as Cities are ſome more or leſs ingenious then others, the inhabitants of *Sienna* have ſurpaſſed them all in the ſweetneſs and politeneſs of the Italian tongue; and the Court of *Rome*, which is compoſed of all the reſt, hath brought it to its perfection.

P. That being ſo, I will ſtay longer at *Sienna* and *Rome*, then in other places.

G. So I adviſe you; and you may be ſure not to repent your ſelf; foraſmuch as the people of *Sienna* are highly courteous and

friendly to ſtrangers, and *Rome* being the Epitome of the world, there is more to be ſeen there, then in any City of Europe.

P. Tell me likewiſe, if you pleaſe, which are the Provinces and Cities of *France*, where they ſpeak French the beſt?

G. There is no Province in *France*, where men of knowledge do not expreſs themſelves paſſably well, both in ſpeech and writing; but in many parts of *France* the Natives are forced to learn the words and rules of their language as well as ſtrangers. Therefore if you deſire to know where I think they ſpeak French purely, I ſhall tell you, it is in the Parliament of *Paris*, where the Judges and Advocates ſtudy to utter nothing in publick, but what may diſtinguiſh them from the vulgar; and at Court, where every one ſpeaks excellently well, except ſome, who being willing to pleaſe forain Ladies, bring in a new way of pronunciation, when thoſe Ladies are troubled to pronounce ſome word right.

P. I make no doubt but the Preſidents of *Paris*, who are members of the moſt illuſtrious Parliament in the world, expreſs their ſentiments in perfection; and no leſs, that Courtiers endeavour to excel in all things. But is it of abſolute neceſſity for one to continue in *Paris*, or at Court, if he would learn the French language well?

G. If it were neceſſary to follow the Court,

or

or abide in *Paris*, to learn to ſpeak French, very few would ſpeak it perfectly, becauſe expenſes at *Paris* are ſo great, and moſt ſtrangers having been pinched by the late Wars are forced to be good husbands, and be content with a little.

P. I am more ſenſible then I would be of the incommodities of the laſt War, and doubt not but the greateſt Lords are forced to retrench their expenſes; but ſeeing it is not poſſible for me to be long at Court, what City in *France* is the moſt convenient for my purpoſe; and in what Province may I ſpend ſome time at the eaſieſt rate?

G. Before the War every thing was cheap throughout all the Kingdom; but now I conceive that as the Provinces lying in the heart of the Countrey feel leſs incommodity from the Souldiers then thoſe upon the frontiers, ſo they have greater plenty of proviſions, and may afford them better cheap. Thus the Cities that are ſituate upon the river *Loire* may give you the ſatisfaction you deſire, becauſe the language there is pure, the people civil, and all things at reaſonable rates.

P. The Maps place this River almoſt in the middle of *France*; and the head thereof riſing in the mountains of *Auvergne*, it waſhes the walls of many fair Cities from *Roane* down to the Ocean Sea, and by a courſe of above 150. leagues paſſes by *Marſilly*, *Nevers*, *Deſiſe*,

Sully, *Orleans*, *Blois*, *Amboiſe*, *Tours*, *Saumur*, *Pont-de-Cé*, and *Nantes*: ſo that if you do not ſpecifie the City or Cities which are moſt proper for my deſign, I ſhall believe they are all ſo, and be in perplexity how to make choice of the moſt convenient.

G. Conſidering your humour, I judge that *Saumur* and *Angers* will ſuit beſt with you; becauſe there are Lords and Gentlemen near thoſe Cities, who will take pleaſure to ſhow you that of hunting, and will alſo furniſh you with Greyhounds, Setting-Dogs, and Water-Spaniels, to courſe the Hare, take Partridge, Quail and wild-Duck.

P. Do they not fly at the Heron too, and the Mag-pye?

G. Yes; but it is not ordinary to meet with Gentlemen in *France* that keep Hawks; and there are few that have not ſome excellent Dogs, both for their pleaſure and their profit. I ſay, for their profit, becauſe you ſhall ſee ſome of them that provide their Kitchin with the game they take themſelves.

P. Do you think a young Lord that deſires to learn ſciences and exerciſes can ſpend any time at hunting?

G. Hunting hath always been the moſt gentile, and the moſt uſeful recreation of Princes; nor was it ever diſeſteemed, but by thoſe that know not the benefit of it. It withdraws great men, either from idleneſs, which is the mother of

of vices, or from gaming, which is unſuitable to their condition, ſuch as Dice, and thoſe games whereby much money is loſt, as Prime and Hoc: it makes them ſtrong, active and bold, and teaches them even to fight, and to beat their enemies.

P. Almoſt all Princes love hunting, and apply themſelves to it with great induſtry, becauſe it is a repreſentation of War.

G. War and hunting have great reſemblance, and the good huntſman is, or may eaſily become a good Souldier. To ſurprize the Wolf and the Fox, you muſt uſe a certain ſubtlety, which teaches us to lay ambuſhes for your enemies; to take the wild Boar, you ſhould know how to preſent the Boar-ſpear to the beſt advantage, juſt as you do a Pike or a Halbert when two Bodies of Foot come to puſh a pike; and to ſhoot a Deer and a Hare running, or a Partridge and a Quail flying, you ought to be as good a marks-man as the beſt Fuzillier in an army. Beſides theſe advantages, hunting inures you to endure hunger, thirſt, heat, cold, rain, ſnow, and all the incommodities of the air, without which it is impoſſible to be a good Souldier.

P. I confeſs that hunting hardens us to labour, and teaches us many things neceſſary for War; but I think I have heard you ſay, that *Louis de Camoes*, the Prince of *Portuguez* Poets, calls hunting *furia loca infanta*, and doth exceedingly vilifie huntſmen.

G. Louis de Camoes is reproved by his Commentator for having ſpoken very impertinently of the pleaſure of Kings; and they that would excuſe him, ſay that he ſpeaks of none but thoſe that make it their only profeſſion, and prefer the pleaſure of hunting a Stag, or flying at the Heron, before the ſafety of their Subjects, and their own Honour. However it be, *Camoes* was neither your Maſter nor your Law-giver; and that which he ſaid, ought not to hinder you from laying ambuſhes to take wild beaſts of all ſorts, nor from going a hunting when your mind ſtands in need of relaxation.

P. You mean then, that after I have ſpent ſome hours at my ſtudy, I ſhould beſtow ſome others upon ſports; becauſe as a Bow ſtanding too long bent, grows weak; ſo the mind when it is too long taken up with contemplation, begins to diſreliſh ſtudy, if it be not refreſhed with ſome Gentleman-like recreation; in the number of which you place Hunting, as one of the moſt agreable to Princes.

G. It is true, but becauſe youth runs ſo eaſily down the hill towards pleaſures, and that our Nature diſaffects and loaths the occupation of the mind, I would have you hunt as little as poſſibly you can, and that to keep yourſelf in appetite you would prefer Tennis and Fencing before Hunting: for that exerciſe hath ſuch catching baits, and the Princes of your

your Houſe are ſo vehemently inclined to that kind of pleaſure, that we ſee few of them who ſet not a greater value upon it then upon their ſtudy.

P. I confeſs the ſway of my inclination is abſolutely bent to it, and I could more willingly endure the pains of Hunting a whole day, then of ſtudy but two hours. Yet becauſe you think it fit, I will hunt as ſeldom as I can, that I may keep the promiſe I made to you, to follow your counſel in all things.

G. It is no ſmall comfort to me, to hear that you prefer my advice before your pleaſure; but I am ſorry that you call and eſteem that a Labour which is nothing but pure delight. Study would be a ſenſual pleaſure, if the mind were capable of any. They that have once taſted it, can never take themſelves off again; and oftentimes it engages thoſe who are born for action, to give themſelves over to contemplation in ſuch manner, that thereby they become deſpiſeable, and indeed altogether deſpiſed, drawing upon themſelves the point of thoſe Lances which they have neglected, and the venom of thoſe Pens which they too kindly embrace.

P. As therefore all kind of ſtudies are not proper for all kind of perſons, ſo neither is it lawful for every one to ſpend ſo much time in them as he would.

G. You ſay right; for as *Alexanders* dog

thought any creature of leſs ſtrength and courage then a Lyon to be unworthy of his anger, and would not vouchſafe to ſtir, if he did not ſee an object equal to his valour; ſo men ought to make choice of ſuch ſtudies as are proportionable to their conditions. And foraſmuch as by Gods Providence you are born ſuch a one, as will one day have occaſion to render him an account of a Principality, you muſt of neceſſity learn to govern it well, without amuſing your ſelf upon knowledges more curious then uſeful, and which would better become a Profeſſor in Philoſophy than the General of an Army.

P. I know that men do not uſe to ſend for Shoe-makers to make their clothes, nor to Taylors to make their boots. Nevertheleſs many Princes enter upon the Government before they have paſt an Apprentiſhip for it, and take the leaſt care of that which concerns them the moſt. But that I may not be one of that number, I conjure you to inſtruct me in all that I ought to know, to be able to govern.

G. The method of good Government is not to be learnt, but from the mouth or actions of Kings and Princes. Therefore I beſeech you to give diligent heed to all you ſhall read in the Books of the *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, and the *Wiſdom of Solomon*, in the *Sacred Story*; in the Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον which *James* VI. King of

of *Scotland*, and first of that name of *England*, composed for the instruction of his Son; in *Guevara*; in the life of *Marcus Aurelius*, in the *Romulus*, *Tarquin*, and *David persecuted*, written by *Malvezzi*; in the lives of *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, and *Henry* IV. King of *France*; and every where else where profane History takes notice of the vices and virtues of great men; that so you may day by day grow to be an honester man, and a more excellent Prince.

P. I have already read some part of that which you prescribe to me, and should punctually observe this rule, if I were not hindred by my ignorance in the Languages wherein they are written.

G. That defect would occasion many others to you; and if you did not learn to understand Authors in their own Language, you would recieve but little satisfaction: for ordinarily translations have less grace and ornament then the Originals. For which reason I have given order to your Master, to use the easiest method for you, and the greatest diligence he can, that you may be a good Proficient in forain Languages. I beseech you to second his laborious endeavours, and help to make them fruitful.

P. Your will hath alwayes had the authority of a Law with me; and I find it good for me to have learnt what you judged to be for my advan-

advantage. Having therefore heard you say that *Italian* is easily obtainable by those that speak *Latin* and *French*, I shall endeavour to get these two in perfection, before I undertake the third.

G. I like your design, and dare assure you that you will learn *Italian* with ease by the help of *French*; for the knowledge of the one smooths the difficulties which occur in the other, especially if one begin with *French*.

P. Which of these two do you esteem the finest Language, and the most useful?

G. Your question doth somewhat perplex me: for my part I think them both equally good and graceful, but not equally useful; for to know the utility of a Language, it should be considered in what part of the world a man inhabits, what persons he frequents, and with whom he hath to do. *Italian* is in high esteem and exceedingly useful in the Emperors Court, and upon all the Coasts of the *Mediterranean Sea*. They that trade in *Asia*, *Africk* and *Europe* with the *Turks*, *Greeks*, *Arabians*, *Candians*, *Rhodians*; *Cyprians*, and other *Levantine* people, may commodiously make use of it. *French* is in greater vogue towards the North, and is marvellously well entertained in *Germany*, *England*; *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Poland*, where all the Kings, Princes and Lords speak it exactly, except the Emperor, who neither loves the *French* nor their Language:

guage: yet it is so much in fashion, that the chiefest *Italians*, nay even the *Spaniards* of his Court, and all others that I have known in *Germany*, speak it, or clip it.

P. Then would it not be better for a *German* Prince to learn *French* perfectly, and practise it continually, then to amuse himself upon many Languages, and become master of never a one of them?

G. Every man should take a just measure of his own strength, and not grasp at more than he can hold. But seeing you have a natural disposition to learn Languages, and the honour to be a Prince, which gives you the hope, and almost the assurance of being employed in variety of business, and in divers Countreys; I lay it as a charge upon you, to love *French*, and not neglect *Italian*.

The end of the first Dialogue.

Dialogue

Dialogue II.

Of the State of the Empire in general.

P. I Understand French indifferent well already, and I think if I made a voyage through *France* I might easily attain to the perfection of it. And therefore I earnestly entreat you to use the power and credit you have with my parents, that by their good leave I may begin to travel, and see what Europe affords worthy of my observation.

G. I know that travelling is a proper means to accomplish what you have begun, but I cannot allow that you should imitate those who make it their study day and night to learn what was done at *Rome* 2000. years since, without taking any thought to know how men live in *Germany* at the present. They that study in such a manner, are like those imprudent busiebodies, who having their eyes open to see what is done among their neighbours, have no regard to understand what is doing in their own houses. My opinion is, that before you go out of *Germany*, you learn the State of the Empire, lest being skilful in forain things, you remain

main ignorant of domeſtick affairs, and deſiring to become a Citizen of the world, you be nevertheleſs but a ſtranger at home.

P. You have ſo often entertained me with relating the rarities of *Italy*, *France*, *England*, and *Spain*, that I am in love with thoſe pleaſant Countreys; and then the Wars whereof the Low-countreys have been the Theatre, and thoſe alſo which the *Swedes* have ſucceſsfully begun and ended in the Empire, inflame my heart with a deſire to ſee *Sweden* and *Flanders*. Nevertheleſs ſince you think fit that we ſhould take a curſory view of the Empire, I am content, and do therefore pray you to tell me what it is requiſite for me to know thereof; that when I am in forain Countreys, I may be able to diſcourſe of my own, and ſhow that I am not ignorant of that which I am concerned to know.

G. The Ancients have written but few things touching our Empire, and modern writers do ſo much ſerve and humour their own paſſion, that it is hard to ſee clear in what they deliver: yet becauſe it imports you more to underſtand *Germany* then other Countreys, I am content to anſwer unto every thing which you ſhall be pleaſed to ask me concerning the State of the Empire. Do me the favour then to think of what you deſire to learn upon that ſubject, and propoſe your queſtions freely.

P. We will ſpeak, if you pleaſe, of the head and

and the principal Members of the Empire; of their power and authority; of the rise, progress and alliances of illustrious Houses; of the order which they observe in Assemblies; of the branches of every Family; of the causes of love, hatred and jealousie amongst them; and of other such like things, which shall come into my mind while we are discoursing of them. And if occasion offer us any question Political or Moral, you will oblige me not to let it pass without a rational discussion. Now because *Bodin* and some other enemies of our State, out of envy to see us for so many ages in possession of the Imperial Crown, debase the Majesty of the Empire as much as they can, and think that our Government is Aristocratical; do me the kindness to undertake the defence thereof, and acquaint me with the truth of the case.

G Strangers are to blame, when they speak of what they know not; and all men, when they write contrary to their own judgement. It is better to hold ones peace, then to smother the truth: for although many men hate it, and great ones are not usually fed with this diet, but under a disguise; yet for all that, it is pleasant and acceptable to all good and vertuous persons. Well then, there is nothing under Heaven that can equal the Empire; and the title of *Cesar* and of *Augustus*, is no where to be found but in *Germany*. True it is, they that speak of the Emperor, as well *Germans* as strangers,

ſtrangers, deny him an abſolute power; and I agree, that he doth not all that he will; nay, as earthly powers are in perpetual motion, I confeſs he is no more at ſuch a high period of greatneſs as *Charlemagne* and the *Saxons* were: But they that deveſt the Emperor of the title of Monarch, and deny the Empire to be the moſt divine form of Government, do equally offend both Him and Us.

P. I do not think that the State of the Empire is purely Monarchical, becauſe the Emperor is not abſolute.

G. If it were neceſſary that a Monarch, to be ſo, ſhould have abſolute power to do every thing that he would, there would be no Monarchs at all, but ſuch as thoſe monſtrous Tyrants, the *Turk* and the *Muſcovite*. Therefore when I yield to you, that the Emperor doth not abſolutely do what he will, yet I muſt not forbear to aſſure you that he is a Monarch; nay, the firſt Monarch in the world; and it is actually ſeen, that all other Monarchs of Chriſtendom do willingly give him place.

P. Is the Emperor ſubject to Laws?

G. The Emperor being a man, and a Chriſtian, is obliged to obſerve both Humane and Divine Laws; and becauſe he promiſes and ſwears not to do any thing contrary to the Capitulation which the Electors preſcribe to him after his Election, doubtleſs he is bound to keep it, in like manner as all Kings are, not to violate

violate the fundamental Laws of their State: But the obedience he yields to his Laws doth in no case derogate from his right of Soverainty.

P. Is it not necessary in Monarchies, that one alone should command, and all the rest obey?

G. The word *Obey* should not be taken here in a strict sense; it is sufficient that all the members of a Monarchy acknowledge the Monarch for the head, from whence all their power, dignity, and glory is derived. And in the case of our Emperor, the Electors, Princes, and other great Lords do freely confess, that their dignity is nothing but a beam issuing from the Imperial Majesty.

P. All men are not of your opinion; and there are those who believe, that the Princes of the Empire do not acknowledge to hold their greatness of any but God: And really it seems, that if they did acknowledge to hold it of the Emperor, they would not in plain terms use this kind of style, *N. by the grace of God Duke*, &c.

G. That title is communicated to them with that of Elector, Duke or Prince; and experience teacheth us, that when a Count, who was not such *by the grace of God*, is raised to the degree of a Prince, he forthwith takes the quality of Prince *by the grace of God*: From whence it follows, that as no man is Elector, Duke or Prince, but by the Emperors grant, in like manner these Princes are not qualified so, but by

by way of Communication. Nay, it is impoſſible that they ſhould be abſolutely independent of any but God, being (as they are) Subjects of the Empire, receiving their dignity from the Emperor, and doing him Homage for their Principalities.

P. Can the Emperor create Princes, Counts, and Barons, to have place and vote in the Aſſemblies, without the conſent and concurrence of the States of the Empire for his ſo doing?

G. The Emperor, by that ample power which inſeparably adheres to the Imperial Majeſty, may raiſe perſons of merit to the higheſt Secular dignities; but becauſe the States of the Empire might ſuffer ſome prejudice, if he admitted into their Aſſemblies all the perſons that his Majeſty advances to the quality of Prince, the Emperors have thought it reaſonable to have the conſent of the ſaid States, conceiving it but juſt, that what concerns a whole body, ſhould be approved by the ſame.

P. Cannot the Emperor confer Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and give Biſhopricks to whom he pleaſes?

G. He hath loſt that right by the overgrowing authority of Popes, who not content to have robb'd the Emperor of his right to nominate, or at leaſt to confirm thoſe Soveraine Prelates: have taken from him the power

of nominating to the Eccleſiaſtical dignities of *Germany*; And they did alſo oblige him to come and take his Imperial Crown at their hands, but no Emperor hath been crowned at *Rome* ſince *Charles* V.

P. I would gladly know how the Popes have ſo much leſſened the Imperial Majeſty.

G. The Emperor *Conſtantine* the Great having removed the ſeat of the Empire to *Conſtantinople*, the *Roman* Biſhops began to have more Elbow-room, and laying the foundation of their greatneſs as well upon the diſtance of the Emperors Reſidence as upon the piety of Princes, and the reſpect given unto them, they took upon them the name of Univerſal Biſhop, which their Predeceſſors never thought of but with horror and deteſtation. Nevertheleſs the *Lombards* kept the Popes in awe, and vexed them often, till the time of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, who undertook their protection, and enriched them with the eſtate of thoſe troubleſome Kings. The Pope willing to acknowledge theſe good turns, did Homage to thoſe Princes for the Territories of *Ravenna* and *Pentapolis* or *Romagnia*, which *Pepin* had liberally beſtowed upon him, & obliged his Succeſſors to the ſame duty, agreeing that thoſe Princes and their Heirs ſhould have the Right and Prerogative of chooſing Popes. Thoſe two Kings made uſe of that right; but after the death of *Charles* the moſt potent of the Clergy, fearing they might

might not have interest enough in the Emperors Court, got themselves chosen at *Rome*, and afterwards came with an excuse that they were not able to hinder their election, and therefore besought *Lewis* the *Debonaire* to confirm them; which he did for fear of disobliging them.

P. Did this submission of the Popes continue long?

G. No, but a short time: for Pope *Nicolas* I. of that name, being better seen in State-matters then his predecessors, disengaged himself of that duty, and using the Thunder of the *Vatican* in a right season, excommunicated *Lotharius* brother to *Lewis* King of *Italy*, and gave so much courage to his Successors, that in a short time they took the boldness to pretend to the election of the Emperors, to degrade them, and to set up another instead of any one that had the misfortune to displease them.

P. Did not the Emperors withstand those violences?

G. All that had any resolution resisted that injustice, past over the *Alpes*, and forced the Popes to keep themselves within their duty: but as Princes are oftentimes some more unfortunate or less courageous then others, at length *Gregory* VII. *Urban* II. and many other Popes trampled the Majesty of the Emperors under their feet, thunder'd, and decreed

againſt them in their Councils, depriv'd them of their Right, and brought them by force to go and take the Imperial Crown at their hands, ſaying there was as much difference betwixt Popes and *Emperors*, as there is betwixt the Sun and the Moon; intending to infer from thence, that as the latter of thoſe two planets hath no light but what is communicated to it by the Sun, ſo the *Emperor* had no other glory, nor power, nor Majeſty but what the Pope beſtowed upon him. But ſince *Charles* V. his time no *Emperor* hath been Crowned by the hands of the Pope; and it ſeems that the Houſe of *Auſtria* hath recovered that to the *Empire*, which the unhappineſs of former times had rent from it.

P. It was a great unhappineſs indeed, that our Forefathers gave ſo much way, and parted with ſo much of their Right to the Popes: But you do alſo confeſs, that his Majeſty cannot give any Right of ſuffrage in the Aſſemblies of the *Empire* unto thoſe perſons whom he raiſes to the dignity of Prince, without the conſent of the States firſt obtained.

G. No man having voice or ſeat in the Diets, but he that is entred in the Regiſter or Matriculation-Roll of the *Empire*, which remains in the cuſtody of the *Elector of Mentz*; it follows neceſſarily, that no man can be admitted to ſit there without the knowledge and allowance of that Elector.

P. That

P. That which you tell me, doth in ſome ſome ſort derogate from the Majeſty of the Emperor, who in that reſpect ſeems leſs abſolute then the Kings of *France* and *Spain*; for they can give the titles of Duke and Grande to whom they pleaſe, and endue new men with the priviledges of the ancienteſt Lords of that Order, without pre-acquainting them with it.

G. Thoſe that the King of *France* raiſes to the dignity of Duke, muſt have their Patent verified in the Par iament of *Paris*, before they can take their place there: and though this were not ſo, we ſhould only be bound to confeſs, that the Emperors have uſed more favour toward the principal Members of the Empire, then the Kings of *France* do toward their Peers, or thoſe of *Spain* toward their Grandes. But for all that, neither of thoſe Kings, though great and potent, is ſo eminent as the Emperor, except in this regard, that both of them have no Superior, nor any equal within their Dominions,

P. Hath the Emperor any more illuſtrious marks of Soverainty then thoſe Kings, who give no man an account of their edicts, but in theſe terms, *For ſuch is Our pleaſure?*

G. Thoſe Kings are great, and as it were Emperors upon their own Territories, and make Lawes, create Magiſtrates, Lords, and Gentlemen, as many as they pleaſe: but neither they, nor any other perſon in the World

equals the Emperor, who by a plenitude of power creates Kings, and hath a Right to hinder any other Potentate from attempting to do the like.

P. The Emperor doth often erect Lands into Baronies, Earldoms and Dukedoms; nay, he makes Barons, Counts, and Dukes, without giving them any land: But I have never heard it affirmed, that he had the power to erect Principalities into Kingdoms.

G. The Emperor *Otho* III. made *Poland* a Kingdom of a Dukedom in the year 1001, *Henry* IV. did the like for *Bohemia* in the year 1086. and *Charles* the Brave Duke of *Burgundy* desired the Emperor *Frederick* III. to give him the title of King, but could not obtain it. All which things do without question elevate the Emperor above all the Monarchs of the Universe, and make it evident that the Imperial dignity is the most eminent upon earth.

P. I believe, as you do, that no King assumes the authority to erect Principalities into Kingdoms, and that our Emperor in that point hath no equal in the world; but you have not yet proved, that he hath the power of hindring others from giving those eminent titles.

G. The Pope sayes he hath the same Prerogative; but *Pius* V. having given the title of great Duke of *Tuscany* to *Cosmo de Medicis* in

in the year 1569. the Emperor *Maximilian* II. oppoſed it, and made *Coſmo* receive it from him: And by that action the Pope was obliged to confeſs that he had exceeded and transgreſſed the bounds of his power.

P. Parents do not love their children with more tenderneſs, nor children their parents with more reverence, then I love the Empire; and for that cauſe you can tell me nothing that affects me comparably to the relation of its greatneſs. Continue therefore, and as you have touched ſomething of the Majeſty of the Head, give me ſome account alſo of the Members.

G. The principal Members of the Empire are the Electors, which at this preſent are three Eccleſiaſticks and five Seculars. They of *Mentz*, *Tryers*, and *Collen*, are Arch-Biſhops and Arch-Chancellors; the firſt in *Germany*, the ſecond in *France* and in the Kingdom of *Arles*, and the third in *Italy*: The Seculars are the King of *Bohemia*, who is great Cupbearer, the Duke of *Bavaria*, who is great Steward, the Duke of *Saxony*, who is great Marſhal or Conſtable, the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, who is great Chamberlain, and the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, who is great Treaſurer of the Empire.

P, Are thoſe offices which you now mentioned, the principal function of each Elector?

G. There is nothing that makes the Electo-

ral dignity so eminent, as the right they have to elect the Emperor, and to depose him when by his enormous crimes, or by an unmanly idleness, he neglects the honour of the Empire, the publick good, and the duty of his place.

P. Was the Empire alwayes Elective?

G. Charlemagne having gotten the Imperial diginty, transmitted it to his posterity by way of Succession; and that right continued in his House, as long as his descendents retained any thing of the generosity of that incomparable Heroical person: But when his virtue became totally extinguished in his Successors, the Empire was offered to *Otho* of *Saxony*, who refused it, and advised them to confer that honour upon *Conrade* Duke of *Franconia*. After *Conrade*, *Henry* Son to *Otho* of *Saxony* (who had refused the Empire) was chosen into his place, and his Son *Otho* the I. succeeded him. And that way of succession from Father to Son was observed till the time of *Henry* IV. who coming to that Dignity while he was under age, and ruling badly enough when he was of years to do better, the Lords of the Empire began to undervalue his authority, and Pope *Gregory* VII. taking occasion by the fore-top, declared him unfit to Reign, excommunicated him, and commanded that the Imperial Scepter should be given to another. Then the *Germans* made a Law, whereby they abo-

abolished the right of succession, and assumed to themselves that of chooſing the Emperors.

P. It seems to me that the Empire was elective sooner then the time you specifie.

G. Some would have it, that the Electors were instituted after the death of the *Emperor Otho* III. and others, only in the time of *Rodolph* of *Habspurg*; so that there is no certainty to be known in this matter, and it is free for every man to follow the opinion he thinks most probable.

P. When the right of succession from Father to Son was abolished, was the power of chooſing the *Emperors* given to the Princes that bear the title of *Electors* at this day?

G. When the *Empire* became *Elective*, all the Princes as well Secular as *Eccleſiaſtical*, the Lords, Prelates, and Cities, in one word, all the *Eſtates* of the *Empire* got the power of creating the *Emperors*: Afterwards in proceſs of time the leſs confiderable were debarred of that right; and at length the confuſion which grew from that great number of *Electors* made it be thought convenient to reduce them to a few. Then they that held the higheſt Offices in the Imperial Court, excluded all others from them, and the *Emperor Charles* IV. confirmed them in the poſſeſſion of that right by a regulation which he made thereupon in an Ordinance called *The Golden Bull*.

P. Until what time did that great number of Princes

Princes and Lords concur to the election of the *Emperors*?

G. It may be made appear to those that will be satisfied with reason, that many had a voice in the *Election* of *Emperors* until the time of *Frederick* II. For *Otho Frisingensis* assures us, that *Henry* II. was chosen *Emperor* by all the Lords of the *Empire*; and when he was dead, *Conrade* Duke of *Franconia* was advanced into his place by the consent of all. *Henry* III. son to *Conrade* was also chosen, but there is no mention made of the *Electors*. The *Abbot* of *Ursperg* writes, that *Henry* IV. was raised to the Imperial dignity by the Bishops and Princes of *Germany*. The same Author says, that *Henry* V. was chosen by all; that *Lotharius* II. was made *Emperor* by two Archbishops, eight Bishops, many Abbots and Lords of the Imperial Court; that *Conrade* III. was placed upon the Throne, the Duke of *Saxony* not being called to the *Election*, and the See of *Mentz* being then vacant; that *Frederick Barbarossa* was chosen by all the *German* Princes; that *Philip* came to the *Empire* by an *Election* which the *Suevians*, *Bavarians*, and *Saxons* made of him; that *Otho* IV. received the Scepter from those of *Collen*, *Strasbourg*, and some other Cities. The same *Abbot* of *Ursperg* says, that the *Emperor Otho* IV. was excommunicated, and that the Princes of *Germany*, to wit, the King of *Bohemia*, the Dukes of *Austria* and *Bavaria*,

Bavaria, the *Landgrave* of *Thuringia*, and many other Princes chose *Frederick* King of *Sicily*, to whom they had formerly sworn Allegiance, even while he was yet in his cradle: This is that *Frederick* until whose time, as you see, the number of the *Electors* was uncertain.

P. There seems to me to be a contradiction in what you say, that the *Empire* was successive until *Henry* IV. and a little after you affirm, that *Henry* II. *Conrade*, *Henry* III. and IV. were *Elected*.

G. I had taken notice before, that the Authors who write upon this subject, are at variance among themselves; for which reason I alledge those that speak of those *Elections*: And it is sufficient for me to shew you, it is the opinion of Writers, that the number of *Electors* was not reduced to Seven till after the time of *Frederick* II. And here you may observe, that the *Eighth* was not heard of till the last peace of *Germany*.

P. Why was the number of them increased at the Treaty of peace concluded at *Munster* and *Osnabrug* in the year 1648.

G. In the year 1623. the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. transferred the Electoral dignity from *Frederick* V. Count Palatine to *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*. This translation of dignity, and many other acts of Soverainty, which the Empire remarked in *Ferdinand* with a jealous eye; as the taking upon himself alone to decide

matters

matters which cannot be determined, but by the judgement of all the Estates of the Empire; the resuming of Church-lands possessed by Protestants, and giving them to Religious Orders, together with a fear of worse proceedings, obliged the Princes to joyn in a League, and to call strangers to their assistance. The War was long, and so bloody, that it swept away more then half the people of *Germany*. At last both sides being weary, an Assembly was held at *Munster* to conclude a Peace, and the Ambassadors there found themselves in a great strait how to satisfie the two principal branches of that House. Each of them pretended to the Electorate; the first, having had possession thereof for many ages, required the restitution of it; and the second, alledging the signal services he had done the Empire, by which he merited that recompense, would not consent to the Peace, unless it were provided that he should still enjoy that honor. In conclusion, as *Maximilian* had many friends, so *Charles Lewis* did not want his supports: Whereupon they came to this agreement, That *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria* should have the first Electorship to him and his posterity, and an eighth place should be new-erected for *Charles Lewis* Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, upon this condition, that if the *Gulielmine* branch hapned to fail before the *Rodolphine*, these latter should re-enter into their ancient Electorship, and the other

other newly created ſhould be wholly aboliſhed.

P. I do not wonder that theſe Princes did ſo earneſtly deſire, the one to recover, and the other to keep the Electorate in his Branch; ſince it is believed, that this dignity makes the poſſeſſors thereof not inferior to Kings.

G. The Electoral dignity is very great; and they that are endued with it, are in a more eminent degree then other Potentates of the Empire, becauſe they have power to make the *Emperor*: But I do not think they may be equalled to Kings. Nay, I remember I have read, that the laſt Duke of *Burgundy*, of the blood Royal of *France*, demanded precedence before the *Electors* at the Council of *Baſil*, and obtained his pretence.

P. I know, that Duke alledging his high deſcent, and the many Dutchies, Counties, and other Lordſhips in his poſſeſſion, obtained a declaration from the Council of *Baſil*, that in regard of his condition and his great *Eſtates*, he ſhould precede the Secular *Electors*. But you alſo know, that the Electors have taken place of Kings upon ſome occaſions.

G. The King of *Bohemia* gives place to many others, except when he is in the Diet for the Election of an Emperor; and in the like caſe the Elector of *Brandenburg* hath diſputed the precedence with *Rodolph* II. King of *Hungary*. Nevertheleſs it is out of controverſie, that the Electoral

Electoral dignity is inferior to the Royal: And it may be proved by the order which the Electors themselves observe; for the Elector of *Bohemia*, when he was but Duke, had the lowest place, but having obtained the title of King, he began to go before his Collegues, only because it was not thought reasonable that a Royal person, Crowned and Anointed, should give way to those that were but barely Electors.

P. Though this dignity do not stand upon equal terms with that of Kings, it is nevertheless very great; but who is the chiefest among the Electors?

G. None of them disputes the precedencie with him of *Mentz*, who is Dean of the Electoral Colledge, appoints the day and place of the Election, when the Emperor is dead, or when it is necessary to choose a King of the *Romans*: The second is the Elector of *Tryer*, the third of *Collen*. Thus the Ecclesiasticks take place of the Secular Princes, of whom the King of *Bohemia* is the first, the Duke of *Bavaria* the second, the Duke of *Saxony* the third, the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* the fourth, and the Count Palatine the last. Notwithstanding which order I must think the Electors of the *Rhine* and *Saxony* to be above all the rest, because during the vacancy of the Empire they are Vicars thereof, and can do all that is in the Emperors power (except giving Investiture to those

thoſe that hold great Territories or Lordſhips in Fee of the Empire) without being ſubject to give an account of their adminiſtration.

P. When is it that they chooſe an Emperor?

G. The Empire being deſtitute of a Head, by the natural death of the Emperor, by his own ſpontaneous demiſſion, or by his demerit, when for his unworthineſs he is deprived of it, they proceed to the election of another.

P. Methinks it is very ſtrange, that they can diſpoſſeſs an Emperor; and much more, that there ſhould be any who would voluntarily reſign their Crown.

G. Both the one and the other have been ſeen more then once; and that we may not go too far back to ſeek for examples very remote from our time, it ſhall be ſufficient for me to tell you, that *Wenceſlaus* ſon to *Charles* IV. being become unfit for the Imperial Crown, was forced to ſurrender it unto *Robert* the Elector Palatine in the year 1400. And when *Charles* V. had ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors in merit, and ſhown by nine voyages, which he made into *Germany*, ſix into *Spain*, ſeven into *Italy*, four into *France*, ten into the Low-Countreys, two into *England*, as many into *Africa*, and by paſſing the Ocean and Mediterranean Seas eleven times, that nothing was impoſſible to a Prince of his reſolution; he would further manifeſt, that he knew how to conquer himſelf, and having called his ſon *Phi-*

lip

lip into the Netherlands, he put the Scepter of *Spain* with all its dependancies into his hands, and by *William* of *Naſſau* Prince of *Orange* ſent the Imperial Crown to his brother, who was already King of the *Romans*: After which he retired himſelf to a quiet ſolitude in the year 1556. where he lived two more in the contemplation of heavenly joys, and went to receive them the 21. of *September* 1558.

P. It is a wonder that a Prince ſo inclined to honor the holy See, did not reſign his Scepter into the hands of the Pope.

G. That incomparable Monarch loved to have the See of *Rome* flouriſh, but was not willing the glory thereof ſhould be illuſtrated by the eclipſe of the Empire. He knew what he ought to the Church, and what to *Germany*: He was not ignorant that the Conſtitutions of Popes aim at the weakning of the Empire, and the diminution of its authority; but he knew alſo how to put a difference betwixt juſt and unjuſt. And by that action he maintained the right of the Empire, and yet did wrong to no body.

P. May a King of the *Romans* be choſen while the Emperor is living?

G. There are that think it ought not to be done, becauſe it is as much as to give occaſion to one to wiſh the death of another. Yet experience, which is more to be conſidered then the ſpeculative fancies of Doctors, teaches us, that

that *Charles* IV. *Wenceſlaus*, *Maximilian* I. and II. *Rodolph* II. *Ferdinand* III. and IV. were choſen in the life-time of their predeceſſors. We have not any example, that a King of the *Romans* hath been made againſt the Emperors will; but I think it out of queſtion, that they who can depoſe an Emperor, may alſo appoint him a Succeſſor without his conſent.

P. Some ſay, that when they create a King of the *Romans* while the Emperor is living, they ſet two Heads upon the Empire, and two Maſters over *Germany*.

G. So long as the Emperor lives, the King of the *Romans* hath no authority of his own, and his dignity is but ſubordinate to that of the Emperor: from whence it follows, that without impoſing two Heads upon the Empire, or two Maſters upon *Germany*, a Succeſſor to the Emperor may be nominated, who inſtead of procuring or deſiring his death, may only eaſe his pains, get inſight in buſineſs, and learn how to govern.

P. Where do the Electors meet, when there is queſtion of making an Emperor, or a King of the *Romans*?

G. The election ſhould be made at *Francfort*; and indeed the greateſt part of the Emperors received that honor there: Nay, the Elector of *Saxony* queſtioned the election of *Ferdinand* I. becauſe it was made at *Collen*, in the year 1530. Nevertheleſs before *Ferdinands*

time, *Henry* II. was chosen at *Mentz*, *Henry* III. at *Aix*, *Henry* V. at *Collen*, *Lotharius* II. at *Mentz*, and after him *Maximilian*, and *Rodolph* II. and *Ferdinand* III. received that honor at *Ratisbon*. From whence you may conclude, that the place of the Election is not certain.

P. Wherefore was the number of the Electors reduced to seven? And what was the reason that there were three Ecclesiastical, and four Military?

G. Religion and Arms being the foundation and sure support of the Christian Commonwealth, the Emperor could not provide better for the safety of the Empire, then by choosing three Prelates and four Captains, to help him in bearing part of that great burthen while he lived, and to put another into his place after his death. But there were seven of them, not only because that number is mysterious and venerable, but because being odd, if the voices in an election hapned to be equally divided, one of the Electors might cast the ballance to that side where he thought there was the most merit. Besides there were some of these Church-men for this reason, that being it was impossible for them to come to the Crown, they might keep the other Electors within the compass of their duty, and put a bar, that no man should be chosen but he that deserved that dignity: Which, as we have already declared, is the chiefest in Christendom.

P. You

P. You place the King of *Bohemia* amongſt the real and true Electors, whereas many as well Germans as Foreiners ſay, that he is not called to the Diets, nor hath any voice at the election of the Emperor, but when the other Electors cannot agree.

G. The King of *Bohemia* hath no voice nor place in the Aſſemblies, which the learned call the *Univerſal Senate*, and the *Epitome of the Empire*; neither is he ſummoned to appear there, becauſe being not regiſtred in the Matriculation-roll, nor contributing any thing to the neceſſities of the Empire, he doth not ſit in thoſe meetings: nevertheleſs, they that ſay he is no true Elector, and hath no voice at Elections, do not reflect that King *Ladiſlaus* made a bitter complaint becauſe he was omitted at the Election of *Maximilian* I. that he threatned to take arms, and never left clamouring till the Empire came to this accord with him, That whoever ſhould omit him for the time to come, ſhould be condemned to pay 500. marks of gold: And they that are moſt experienced and skilful in this point, give him the firſt voice, and ſay that *Sigiſmond* of *Luxemburg* King of *Bohemia*, being in the Diet for the choice of an Emperor after the death of *Robert* of *Bavaria*, ſpoke the firſt according to the cuſtom, and ſaying that he knew no man more worthy of the Empire then he was, named himſelf; whereupon the reſt of the Electors his Col-

legues admiring his freedom and generosity, unanimously gave him their voices.

P. I see then, the Electors may name themselves.

G. Yes, but not all. The Ecclesiasticks have not a passive or reflexive voice in those Diets of Election, that is, they may name another, but not themselves; because the Ancients thought it not fit, that one and the same hand should bear the Crosier and the Sword, nor one and the same head wear the Mitre and the Imperial Crown.

P. It being necessary then that the Emperor should be Secular, may all Seculars indifferently be raised to that dignity?

G. The Electors can advance no man to the Imperial Throne, but he that is of an illustrious, rich, and German Family. The reason why the Emperor should be of an illustrious House is this, because, being he is to be Head over many Princes that resemble so many Kings, it is to be presumed they would not willingly yield obedience to a person of mean condition. He should be rich, because the Emperors have alienated almost all the Rights of the Empire, and by their ill husbandry forced the Electors to have an eye to the riches of him they choose, that he may maintain himself out of his own Revenues with that splendor that is requisite to the Imperial Majesty. He should be a German, because a stranger having but little affection for us,

ns, might transfer the ſeat of the Empire to ſome other place, and deprive *Germany* of that prerogative, or put it upon a neceſſity to keep the ſame by way of Arms.

P. It ſeems to me, that all the Emperors of *Germany* have not been natural Germans; and conſequently, it is not neceſſary that he that is choſen ſhould be ſo.

G. Before the Emperor *Charles* IV. had made the Golden Bull to be publiſhed, it was not required that the Emperor ſhould be a German; but ſince that time, though it be not abſolutely neceſſary for him to be born in *Germany*, it is neceſſary that he be a *German* by extraction. Such were *Charles* and *Ferdinand* the Firſt, though the former were born in the County of *Flanders*, and the latter at *Medina* in *Caſtile*. Likewiſe *Francis* I. King of *France*, alledging that he was a *German*, when they made ſcruple to place him upon the Imperial Throne, did not pretend to have it believed that *Angouleſme* was in *Germany*, but that his predeceſſors were originally of *Germany*.

P. I conceive it may be ſeaſonable in this place to ask, whether it be better that Kingdoms ſhould be Elective or Succeſſive; and becauſe I know you will be able to reſolve the doubt, I deſire you to ſatisfie my curioſity.

G. In ſpeculation, each of theſe forms hath its advantages and diſcommodities; but I do

not think that rationally one can be preferred before the other, but with respect to places, times, and persons. *Germany*, *Denmark*, and *Poland* find it expedient to elect their Princes: The *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Swedes* like it better that the Son or nearest Kinsman should succeed their Kings. The reasons of those that prefer Succession, are plausible. They say, that ordinarily in the time of the *Interregnum*, Elective Monarchies fall into Anarchy, disorders, and the danger of utter ruine, being like a ship in a storm without a Pilot; that Elective Princes, having no assured hope to transmit the Crown to their children, endeavour to enrich them at the charge of the publick, and that no man hath so great a care to preserve anothers estate as his own. They add further, that persons of low degree are elected, who become insolent upon it, and leave no stone unturned to make the Crown Hereditary to their Family; and which is still worse, sometimes the Electors being at variance, instead of one Head set many over the Commonwealth. But all these reasons are good and allowable in those States where Succession hath had place for many ages. The *Germans* had rather have their Emperors by choice; and to prevent those inconveniences, they many times elect a Successor to the Empire while the Emperor is living: And though that course be not taken, yet the Empire is not in danger to fall

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into Anarchy or any disorder, seeing the *Electors Palatine* and of *Saxony* are Vicars of the *Emperor*, and Administrators of the *Empire* during the *Interregnum*. And so the ship is never without a Pilot in *Germany*; where to abate the desire which the Emperors may have to agrandize their children by weakning the Monarchy, they usually make choice of the neareſt of Kin to the Reigning Prince; and they do not transfer the Crown to another House, but when they find never a Head worthy of it in that Family that hath it in possession. This way of continuing the Imperial Dignity in one House doth also hinder the inconvenience of advancing men of low degree to the Throne, and of giving two Heads at a time to one single Common-wealth. For which cause I think it not fit to innovate any thing in a State, and that every Nation should persevere in their ancient customes, forasmuch as all changes in a State are dangerous.

P. God be thanked, we do not see so many murders and seditions in *Germany* during the *Interregnum*, as there are at *Rome*; but there hath been no means found out to prevent alienating the demesns of the *Empire* The *Emperor* hath almost nothing left in *Italy*, and the best Cities of *Germany* being enfranchiz'd, the sinew of the State hath lost much of its strength; which could never have been, if the *Empire* had alwayes been Successive.

G. There is nothing complete and entire in this World; and it is as hard to find a perfect form of Government, as a Commonwealth, a King, an Orator, a Captain, a Courtier, an Ambassador, with the qualities which *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Cicero*, *Onosander*, *Castalio*, and *Tasso* Fancy and desire. When a Kingdom is Successive, the people is often forced to obey a child, or rather those who abusing his authority do oppress and exhaust his Subjects during his Minority. When it is Elective, they are divers times put to no small trouble to find out a good King; and when they think they have chosen an *Augustus*, a *Trajan* or an *Antonine*, it proves too often that they have pitched upon a *William*, a *Henry* VII. or a *Wenceslaus*. We must look for perfection in Heaven, and not think to meet with it here below.

P. Seeing we are in *Germany* where Election hath place, we ought to prefer it before Succession; and to speak truth, considering the State of the Empire at present, it seems to be preferable. But of what age should a Prince be, to be capable of being placed upon the Imperial Throne?

G. It were to be wished that he were one, who had beforehand given some proofs of his vertue, and made his name glorious by his Military actions; nevertheless though by the Law no man can be raised to eminent honours before

before the age of 25. years, yet the Electors do not alwayes tie themſelves ſtrictly to thoſe rules: For they choſe *Otho* III. in his infancy, *Henry* III. at twelve, *Henry* IV. at eight, *Frederick* II. and *William* at twenty, *Wenceſlaus* at fifteen, and *Charles* V. at nineteen years of age.

P. I would willingly know what difference there is between the Emperor and the King of the *Romans*.

G. You will meet with ſome Writers, who mean the Emperor when they are ſpeaking of the King of the *Romans*; and yet they are diſtinct perſons: For no man can be Vicar to himſelf, and the King of the *Romans* is the Emperors perpetual Vicar; when the Emperor is abſent, or taken up with other affairs, he adminiſters the Empire, and the Emperor being dead he ſucceeds without diſpute. The King of the *Romans* bears for his Arms the Eagle with one head, the Emperor with two; he is ſtyled *Auguſtus*, and the Emperor *ſemper Auguſtus*: The Emperor writing to him uſeth the term of *Liebten* in Dutch, which ſignifies *Dilection*, but he writing or ſpeaking to the Emperor, gives him that of *Majeſty*: To conclude, he acknowledges the Emperor for his Superior, and though in his abſence he exerciſe the ſame power the Emperor did, it is but by conceſſion, for he hath no authority of his own within the Empire, ſo long as the Emperor

Emperor is living: And therefore if he take place of other Kings, it is only because he exerciseth the same Jurisdiction which the Emperor doth.

P. Is the King of the *Romans* the only Vicar of the Empire?

G. Heretofore there were 3. Deputies in the East, as many in the West, one in *Africa*, and another in *Spain*: At present there are but two for all, to wit the Electors of the *Rhine* and of *Saxony*; whose dignity is derived from the office of great Steward, which they had under the Emperors of *Charlemagne*'s Race. By virtue of that dignity, when the Emperor dyes, and before a Successor be chosen, the first governs the *Rhine*, *Franconia*, *Swaben*, and *Bavaria*, as far as the *Alpes*; the other all that Countrey where the *Saxon* Laws are observed. But if there be a King of the *Romans*, that right ceases, because he is Emperor that very moment wherein the other deceaseth. So that it may be said, when there is a King of the *Romans*, he is the only Vicar of the Empire; and when there is not one, the Electors of the *Rhine* and *Saxony* alone are the Vicars.

P. We have hitherto spoken sufficiently of the Emperor, of his Vicars, and of the Electors. Nevertheless before we proceed any further, I would know whether the Emperor take the name of *Cæsar* before his Coronation; and how

how he is ſerved when he eats in State.

G. Immediately after the *Emperor* is choſen, he takes the name of *Emperor*, of *Ceſar*, and of *Auguſtus*: and if he pleaſes gives priviledges, and does all other acts of Soverainty: Afterwards, when he will diſplay the Splendor of his Majeſty, he dines in Ceremony; and then the *Eccleſiaſtical Electors* ſay Grace, and hold the Seals; the *Elector* of *Brandenburg* gives him water to waſh, the *Saxon* executes the Office of Marſhal, the *Palſgrave* preſents him the firſt diſh of meat, and the King of *Bohemia* the firſt glaſs of Wine: But he wears not the Crown upon his head, unleſs he will himſelf: And if any *Elector* be abſent, his Deputy performs his Office, and not his Ambaſſador; now the Lieutenants or Deputies of the *Electors* are, the Lords and Counts of *Limbourg*, of *Walpourg*, of *Papentheim*, and of *Hohenzollern*, for the four ancient Seculars: I do not know who is the Count *Palatines* Vicar, and the *Eccleſiaſtical Electors* have none.

P. I have heard you ſay, that at the Inauguration and Coronation of the Kings of *France* the Peers carry the Royal Ornaments; do not the *Electors* do the ſame at the Coronation of the Emperor?

G. In thoſe Ceremonies the Elector of *Collen* did for a long time Crown the Emperor; but becauſe the Archbiſhops of that *See* have not been Prieſts for near a hundred years laſt paſt,

paſt, he of *Mentz* performed that Office. And at the Inauguration of *Ferdinand* III. there was a diſpute between thoſe two Electors; for he of *Collen* being a Prieſt at that time, deſired to recover that honour; and he of *Mentz*, pleading the poſſeſſion of his Predeceſſors, urged that he ſhould be upheld and continued in that Right. In concluſion, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Elector of *Collen*, he of *Mentz* executed the Office; and ſome believe that he did but preſerve a Right which appertained to *Mentz* before. The Diadem of the ancients was certain white Scarfs, with which they bound the head of their Kings; at this time it is a Crown, which the Golden Bull calls *Infula*. It belongs to the King of *Bohemia* to carry that; as the bearing of the Ball to the Elector of *Bavaria*, of the Sword to the *Saxon*, and of the Sceptre to the *Brandenburger*. The Imperial cloak is richly ſet with pretious ſtones, and is faſtned together with a golden buckle over the breaſt.

P. Your mentioning of the Crown makes me call to mind that which ſome write, that the *Emperor* is Crowned at *Aix* with an Iron Crown, at *Milan* with one of Silver, and at *Rome* with one of Gold.

G. *Charlemagnes* Crown which is ſet upon the head of the *Emperors* at *Aix*, is of pure Gold, what ever you have read of it; but it ſhews by its lightneſs, that the Princes of that time

time were not profuſe in their expenſes. And as for the reſt, the Emperors go no more to ſeek a Crown at *Milan*, nor at *Rome*.

P. The Majeſty of the Emperor is as a Sea without a Shore, a boundleſs ſubject, whereof a man cannot ſufficiently diſcourſe; but all that is ſaid of it, ſeems little in compariſon of what remains to be ſaid. Nevertheleſs, ſeeing it was not our deſign particularly to cull out all that makes the Head of the Empire ſo admirable; tell me what power the Electors give him: and then we will paſs on to the conſideration of the Members.

G. The Electors do not give the Emperor the power he hath; for that power is inſeparably annexed to the Imperial dignity. But they make choice of a Prince, they declare him worthy of Majeſty, they give him the Scepter, they ſet him upon the Throne, and ſalute him Emperor. From this dignity proceeds the right of making Univerſal Laws, of creating Kings, Electors, Archdukes, Dukes, Marquiſſes, Landgraves, Counts, Barons, Gentlemen; and of depriving them of that honor, when they behave themſelves unworthily. For he that can give a dignity, can likewiſe take it away. He can alſo make Notaries, Tabellions, and Doctors; nay, erect Univerſities, where men that deſerve it may be declared, created, and made Doctors: He can legitimate Baſtards, reſtore to honor, give the benefit of

age,

age, erect Parliaments and other Courts of Juſtice, judge without Appeal, and give Inveſtiture to ſuch as hold great Territories in Fee of the Empire: He hath power of life and death, can give ſafe-guards, ſet up Poſts, and raiſe ordinary Burroughs into the rank and degree of Cities.

P. Cannot the Emperor declare War, and make peace alſo?

G. For the declaring of War, he muſt have the conſent of the Eſtates, who heretofore might refuſe to aid him with men and money. The power of making peace is of the ſame nature; and it is out of queſtion that the Emperor cannot conclude it alone, when the whole Empire is concerned: For then all the Eſtates having intereſt therein, it is probable that they ought to give their conſent thereunto; as they did at the laſt, which was concluded at *Munſter*, and confirmed at *Nuremberg*.

P. I cannot perſwade my ſelf that the Emperor hath more power to make Univerſal Laws, and erect Parliaments, then he hath to declare War and make peace.

G. It is true, that the Laws which oblige all *Germany* to their obſervation, are made in the general Aſſemblies; and that Juſtice is adminiſtred in ſuch place, and by ſuch perſons as the Emperor and the Eſtates appoint: But the ſingle approbation of the Emperor gives the name and force of an Univerſal Law to the deter-

determinations and results of the Estates of the Empire; as he also impowers the Judges and Assessors of Courts to administer Justice: For which cause it may be said, that the Emperor makes Laws, and establisheth Parliaments.

The end of the Second Dialogue.

Dialogue III.

Of the Estates of the Empire in general: And in particular, Of the Austrian *and* Electoral *Houses.*

P. THe discourse concerning the Head of the Empire having held us longer then I expected, I shall pass more lightly over the consideration of the Members: Touching whom it seems necessary to me, that you speak separately of the Secular and the Ecclesiastical Lords, of the Gentlemen and the Imperial Cities. After which I shall entreat you to add a word concerning the Universities, the Chambers or Courts of Justice, and concerning Tournaments. So then, though we have said some-

ſomething of the Electoral dignity, I ſhall not forbear to ask you what I think requiſite for me to know of every Family in particular.

G. I ſhall willingly hear your demands, and ſatisfie them as well as I am able. Only I beſeech you to obſerve ſome order therein, that I may anſwer you with leſs difficulty, and you underſtand me with more eaſe.

P. I ſhall do what you preſcribe as punctually as poſſibly I can: And to begin, I deſire you to tell me, who they are whom in *Germany* we call *The Eſtates of the Empire.*

G. All they who are regiſtred in the Matriculation-roll, and aſſiſt the Emperor with their counſel in publick Aſſemblies, and with their purſe in his neceſſities, according to the diverſity of times and the cuſtom of *Germany*, are *the Eſtates of the Empire*: And whoſoever is not Matriculated, and contributes not to the neceſſities of the Empire, is not in the number of the *Eſtates*, though he be immediately ſubject to the Empire.

P. What advantage have the *Eſtates of the Empire* above other *Germans*?

G. All the *Eſtates of the Empire*, having voice in the general Aſſemblies where thoſe Laws are made that oblige all *Germany* to their obſervation, may alſo oppoſe any thing that may be to their prejudice, further any thing that is for their intereſt, take order that they be not oppreſſed, and concur to the eſtabliſh-

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ment of ſuch Laws as they ought to obſerve. Wherein they have far greater advantage then others, who are forced to ſubmit unto Laws made without them, which they neither had power to contradict, nor are ſo much as called to approve.

P. Are there many that have voice and ſeat in the Aſſemblies?

G. All the *Eſtates of the Empire*, who are the Electors, the Princes, the Prelates, the Counts, the Barons, and the Imperial Cities. And beſides the place and voice they have in general and particular Aſſemblies, they have alſo a certain right of Regality, and the priviledge of the *Auſtregues*, that is, a right not to be convented or brought before any but peculiar Judges.

P. I thought that the Emperor alone had the right of Regality; that this right and Majeſty were one and the ſame thing; and that but few Counts and Barons had place and voice in the Aſſemblies.

G. By the Counts and Barons which I told you had ſeat and ſuffrage in the Aſſemblies, you ſhould underſtand thoſe that are Eſtates of the Empire, and abſtract all others, even thoſe Lords to whom the Emperor gives the title of Prince in his Hereditary Countreys; who are in no ſmall number, the abuſe being grown to that height, that few or none are content with the title of Gentleman. As to the other part of

your ſuppoſition, you ſhould take notice, that Soverainty and Regalities are different things. Soverainty is that which eſſentially conſtitutes the Emperor, that is, which makes him to be Emperor; and Regalities are the Adjuncts of Soverainty, and the Rights which flow from it as rivulets from their ſpring.

P. I beſeech you explain your ſelf a little more.

G. For the better underſtanding of what I have even now ſaid, you muſt note that the word *Regality* is diverſly taken, to wit, 1. for great Lordſhips held in Fee of the Crown, 2. for Churches extraordinarily rich: 3. for the right of giving great Benefices: 4. for the Royal *Enſigns* which are carried before Kings, and put upon their heads and into their hands: and 5. for the Rights which have been given to Emperors for marks of a Soverain eminence. Regalities may be alſo diſtinguiſhed into the greater and the leſſer: The greater are *Regalities of Dignity*, which relate to the Emperors perſon; the leſſer are *Regalities of Utility*, which regard his Treaſure. The great ones are incommunicable, the leſſer are communicable, and communicated to Princes, Lords, and Cities, to one more, to another leſs, according to the good pleaſure of the Emperor.

P. I do not yet fully underſtand which be the *Regalities of Dignity*; I pray ſpeak a little more at large of them.

G. The

G. The Regalities of Dignity are the immenſe power which the Emperor hath to give the title of King, Elector, Archduke, Duke, &c. to make Laws, to adminiſter Juſtice, and other ſuch like things.

P. I think the Emperor hath communicated the right of adminiſtring Juſtice unto the Imperial Chambers of his Court and of *Spire*.

G. That is true; but the power of the Chambers is no argument why the Emperor alone ſhould not be ſaid to have the Soverain Right of adminiſtring Juſtice: For the Judge of thoſe Chambers bears the Imperial Sceptre, to ſhow that he exerciſes the Emperors juriſdiction there; all judgements are pronounced there in his Majeſties name, and ſealed with his Arms: Which makes it clear, that all is done by his authority, and in his name.

P. Was Juſtice always adminiſtred by the Soverain Chambers which his Majeſty hath eſtabliſhed, the one in his Court, and the other at *Spire*?

G. The Chamber of Juſtice or Parliament of the Empire was ambulatory till the time of *Maximilian* I. who taking pity of the parties that were neceſſitated to follow the Court, and ſeek for Juſtice there at great expenſes, at the requeſt of *Berchtold* Count of *Henneberg*, who was then Elector of *Mentz*, eſtabliſhed a Sedentary Chamber at *Wormes* in the year 1495. from whence it was ſoon after removed to

Spire, but cannot be withdrawn from that place without the consent of all the Estates.

P. Doubtless the Emperor hath given an extraordinary jurisdiction to that Chamber; for I have heard say, that it hath concurrence of jurisdiction with his Majesty.

G. The Chamber of *Spire* can have no concurrent jurisdiction with the Emperor, unless it be that his Majesty may concur with himself; for the jurisdiction of the Chamber is nothing else but the Emperors jurisdiction. Besides, the Emperor hath not established the Chamber to concur with him, but to administer Justice in his name. For in transferring thither all the jurisdiction universally, for so much as concerns Civil causes, he hath ordered that nothing shall be dispatched but in his name, and under his Seal. Whereby it is easie to judge, that there is a dependence, and not a concurrence of the Chamber of *Spire* with the Emperor; who also causeth the Assessors to be punished when they transgress and swerve from their duty.

P. Seeing the Emperor hath transmitted all his jurisdiction unto that Chamber, certainly it passeth judgement upon all things without appeal.

G. Except Ecclesiastical and Spiritual matters (as the crimes of Heresie, Adultery, and other such like, the cognizance whereof belongs to the Church) that Chamber Judges finally

finally and absolutely of every thing: So that an appeal cannot be made unto the Emperor, and much less to the Pope, even in a cause of a pious nature. And there is a Decree to be seen of the 20. *February* 1512. whereby one that appealed to the Pope was fined a hundred Marks of Gold. But this Chamber takes no knowledge in the first instance, but of the causes which concern some Immediate person, that is, immediately depending upon the Emperor.

P. Are all Immediate persons Estates of the Empire?

G. The Gentlemen of *Swaben*, *Franconia*, the *Rhine*, and the lower *Alsatia*, are not Estates of the Empire, though they be immediately subject to the Emperor.

P. Let us begin to speak of the Estates of the Empire, and tell me, if you please, what was the original of the House of *Austria*, how long it hath worn the Imperial Crown, into how many branches it is divided, by what means it became so potent, and what are its priviledges.

G. You ask too many things at once; yet I will answer them. But that we may avoid confusion, I will speak severally of that which you have proposed conjunctly. And as to your first question, I say, that flatterers think they can never raise the beginning of this Most *August* House high enough, unless they fetch it from the *Trojan* horse, and tracing the Fables of the

old *Romans* invent a fine Genealogy from near 500. years before the birth of *Jesus Christ*. Others would have it to descend from *Charlemagne* in a direct masculine line. The most common opinion is, that the Counts of *Habspourg*, who wear the Imperial Crown at this present, are a branch of the Dukes of *Zeringuen*, from whom also the Marquisses of *Baden* are descended, and the Dukes of *Teck*, whose lands are passed by marriage into the House of *Wirtemberg*.

P. That which you say, is not out of controversie; for a modern Author affirms confidently, that the Archdukes of *Austria* and the Kings of *France* come both out of one and the same stock. But because we desire not to enter into dispute, let us go forward; and tell me at what time those Princes put the Imperial Crown upon their head.

G. *Frederick* II. having past from this life to a better, the Empire continued some years without a Head: After which *Interregnum* all *Germany* esteeming the vertue of *Rodolph* Count of *Habspourg* worthy of the Empire, he was set upon the Throne in the year 1278. and reigned 18. *Rodolph* being dead, *Adolph* Count of *Nassau* was chosen in his stead: But *Albert*, *Rodolphs* son, being now become Duke of *Austria* by the gift which his Father made him of that Principality, and Lord of *Carinthia* by the marriage which he contracted with *Elizabeth*

herh inheritrice of that Province, becauſe he could not brook a Superior, took arms, ſlew the Emperor *Adolph* in battel, and forced the Electors to put him into his place, in the year 1298. and ten years after on *May*-day 1308. he was killed upon the high way by his Nephew *John* the ſon of *Rodolph*; and his ſucceſſors were no more admitted to that honor till the year 1438. in which *Albert* the Fifth Duke of *Auſtria*, and ſecond Emperor of that name, was raiſed to that dignity. He reigned no longer then one year, and was ſucceeded by *Frederick* III. his Couſin, who reigned 54. years, and got his ſon *Maximilian* I. to be Elected whileſt he lived. To *Maximilian Charles* V. his grandchild ſucceeded, and to *Charles Ferdinand* I. his brother, from whom are deſcended in a right line of males all the Emperors that have reigned ever ſince his death, and ſtill reign happily to this day.

P. I think the ſons of *Philip*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, Duke of *Burgundy*, divided that Houſe into two branches.

G. That Houſe arriving to greatneſs by little and little, by the acquiſition of the Countreys of *Auſtria*, *Carinthia*, *Stiria*, *Tirol*, and *Alſatia*, was raiſed to a prodigious grandeur by the marriage of *Maximilian* of *Auſtria* with *Mary* of *Burgundy*, who brought him in Dowry the 17. Provinces of the Low-Countreys, with the Franche-County. And a little after, it

acquired a great part of the world by the marriage of *Jane* of *Spain* with *Philip* the ſon of *Maximilians* ſon: For by the death of the Queen of *Portugal* her elder Siſter, *Jane* became heireſs of all that her Father and Mother had in *Spain*, and of the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Sardinia*, and the New World. So that *Charles* V. ſeeing he had enough to ſatisfie the two branches ſeverally, quitted all that he had in *Germany* to his brother *Ferdinand*, reſerving nothing thereof to himſelf, but the name of *Auſtria*, and gave his ſon all his other Dominions, which are ſo great that the Sun never ſets upon them.

P. You do not tell me, that *Philip* II. ſon to *Charles* V. got the Kingdom of *Portugal* partly by right and partly by force, after the death of the King and Cardinal *Henry*, Unkle by the Fathers ſide to *Sebaſtian*, who was unfortunately loſt in *Africa* in the year 1578.

G. I reſerve thoſe things to be ſpoken of when we ſhall travel into *Spain*; and then I ſhall tell you, that *Philip* II. having gotten the Kingdom of *Portugal*, with the Eaſt *Indies*, *Braſile*, the places of *Ceuta*, *Tanger*, *Marzagan*, many Iſles in the Ocean Sea, and all the Coaſts of *Africa*, unto the great *Monomotapa*, many lands and fortreſſes beyond the Cape of Good Hope, in *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and the *Indies*; he and his ſon poſſeſſed them proſperouſly. But *Philip* IV. his grandchild loſt that

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Kingdom upon Chriſtmas-day 1640. and afterwards all that depended upon that Crown followed the ſway and revolution of *Portugal*.

P. This Houſe being moſt mighty in *Europe*, *Africa*, *Aſia*, and *America*, and having the Imperial Crown upon its head ever ſince the year 1438. without intermiſſion, it muſt certainly have priviledges unknown to other Houſes of *Germany*.

G. The Princes of this Houſe have received extraordinary mercies and advantages from God, from nature, and from men. From Nature, inaſmuch as they have all a long chin and thick lips; which is a Phyſiognomical mark of their piety, conſtancy, and integrity. From God, inaſmuch as by giving a glaſs of water with their own hand to one that hath great Wens hanging at his throat, they cure him; and by kiſſing one that cannot ſpeak plain, they unlooſe his tongue; nay, which is more, this Houſe having within 300. years afforded twelve Emperors, five Kings of *Spain*, and forty other Kings, Cardinals, Archdukes, and Dukes, there hath been never a Tyrant amongſt them all. As for the priviledges they have received from the Emperors of that Houſe, they can create Gentlemen, Barons, and Counts, through the whole Empire; and the Emperor cannot take from them the lands they are ſeized of, to give them to another. The Archduke of *Auſtria* is the firſt and moſt intimate

mate Privy Counsellor of the Empire, and his Principality is not subject to contribution. These Princes, when they receive the land they hold in Fee, are in Royal habit, wear an Archdukes Cap upon their head, pay nothing for their Investiture, and are not subject to the Justice of the Empire. In Assemblies they take their place on the right hand of the Emperor after the Electors, before the Ecclesiastical Princes: If they be challenged to fight a Duel, they may take a Champion, though that priviledge be denied to their adversary: And if all the Princes of this House happen to fail, the eldest daughter shall inherit all their Estate, and bring all these priviledges to her husband.

P. In real truth this House hath done so many good offices to the Empire, that I wonder not to see it priviledged above all others. Are these Princes many?

G. No, but few: The King of *Spain* at the time we are now speaking, which is the year 1657. hath but one son; the Emperor two, and one brother; and the Archdukes of *Insprück* are two. Thus the branch of *Burgundy* is in danger to be totally extinguished; but that of *Austria* is strong enough still, there being five young Princes of it.

That Emperor is since dead, as also his brother, and one of his sons.

P. If

P. If the Branch of *Burgundy* ſhould totally fail, ſhould not that of *Auſtria* inherit?

G. I believe of Right it ought to ſucceed; for it is no leſs deſcended of *Jane* of *Spain* then that of *Burgundy*: But being daughters inherit, it would be known, whether the heireſs of the Kingdom will not marry ſome other Prince; and whether a *Spaniſh* Lord will not have a mind to taſte ſo dainty a bit.

P. It would be a great weakening of the Emperor, to take from him the ſtrong ſupport he hath alwayes found in King *Phillips* Exchequor. Let us now look, if you pleaſe upon the *Palatine* Houſe.

G. By your demands you oblige me to follow the order which the Princes obſerve in their ſitting at the Aſſemblies. After the Houſe of *Auſtria* that of the *Palatine* holds the firſt rank without diſpute. This Houſe enjoyes the firſt Electorſhip, and the firſt place amongſt the Secular Electors after the King of *Bohemia*: And the younger brethren of the *Palatine* Houſe, who have place in the Aſſemblies, take it immediately after the Secular Electors, as the Archdukes do after the Eccleſiaſticks. Now all the Princes of this Houſe are deſcended from two Emperors, whoſe Nephews make two principal Branches, both very Potent and Illuſtrious, but of different Religions, and perchance no very great friends, ſince they that are

are sprung from *Lewis* of *Bavaria* who got the Electoral Cap which belonged to the descendents of the Emperor *Robert*: And that change came to pass because *Frederick* V. Elector of the *Rhine*, not regarding the Election that was made of *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, accepted the Crown of *Bohemia*, whereby he kindled those fires and forged those irons that have wasted our Countrey for above 30. years.

P. I have already heard say, that the *Bohemians* drew upon themselves and us the mischiefs of the last War by the Election they made of two Kings, when they had but one Kingdom to bestow. Let us therefore pass by those causes of our evils; and according to your accustomed method, tell me something of the Original, of the priviledges, of the greatness, and of the alliances of this House.

G. Many Writers fetch the Original of these Princes out of the loines of *Charlemagne*, and follow the Genealogie down from him to those that are living at this day. For my part, I know not what to think of it, and therefore refer my self to real evidence. Yet I dare confidently affirm, that the House is very ancient; and that since the year 1253. in which *Otho Witelpachius* Count of *Shiern* married *Agnes* heiress of the *Palatinate* and *Bavaria*, this House hath possessed those two great Principalities, with the quality of Elector, and great Steward of the

the Empire. It hath given two Emperors to *Germany*, one King to *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway* joyntly, and another to *Sweden* alone: Without counting I know not how many Generals, who have commanded armies in *Italy*, *Hungary*, *France* and *England*.

P. At what time did those Princes reign in *Germany*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*?

G. *Lewis* of *Bavaria* was chosen Emperor the 18. of *October* 1314 and having Reigned gloriously 23. years, made room for *Charles* of *Luxembourg* the IV. of that name, who left *Wenceslaus* his Successor, and he by his intolerable negligence forced the Electors to put *Robert* Elector *Palatine* into his place, a man low of Stature, but of so great courage, that the Empire could have wished him endued with immortality, if that were to be found here below. But he dyed the 18. of *May* 1410. having Reigned ten years. And *Christopher* his granchild was chosen King of *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway* in the year 1430. and dyed without heirs 1448. But *Charles Gustavus*, son of *John Casimir* a younger brother to the Duke of *Zweybruck* or *Deux-ponts*, Reigns at this present in *Sweden* with as much glory as any one of his predecessors, and hath a son of *Hedwig Eleonor* daughter to *Frederick* Duke of *Holstein*.

P. This House descending from two Emperors very renowned in History, and having so many

many and such brave Princes at present worth to be Emperors, I wish them those Crow they deserve to wear, and desire you to t me, whether it enjoys more priviledges th the other Electoral Houses.

G. The Electors have very great priviledge and the Golden Bull ordains for them all i general, and every one in particular, th no man appeal from their Justice to any othe whatsoever: Yet none of them have preserv this Right entire to them, but the Electors o *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, and of the *Rhine*. The can all together choose an Emperor, and de pose him when he is lazy and negligent. The have right to prescribe a Capitulation to th Emperor when they have chosen him, and t oblige him to swear to the observation thereo Moreover, they can meet together once every year, without asking leave of any one, an consult in that Assembly concerning the publick and their own private affairs. Besides th Right which relates to the whole Electoral College, the *Palatine* and the *Saxon* are Vicars o the Empire; and as such, they can legitimate Bastards as well of great men as of inferior persons, create Notaries and Tabellions, confer the Benefices which are in the Emperors nomination, give Investiture of lands held in Fee, except of Dukedoms, and of the Principalities which in *Germany* are called *Fanſteben* (because when the Emperor gives them, he puts a standard

dard into the hand of him that receives them) and which is moſt conſiderable, the Elector *Palatine* can redeem what the Emperor hath ſold or engaged, at the ſame value for which it was ſold or engaged; and which is yet more, the Emperor may be convented for Debt before this Elector.

P. The ancient Emperors gave demonſtration of a meekneſs without example, in ſubmiting themſelves to the juſtice of one that is a Subject of the Empire.

G. No man would deal with Soverains, if they did not oblige themſelves in Civil matters to ſome way of Juſtice; and in this caſe the Emperors have been willing that the Elector *Palatine* ſhould be their Judge: But if the Emperor be accuſed of Mal-adminiſtration, the judgement thereupon belongs to all the Electoral Colledge; in which caſe the Elector *Palatine* is Director of the Proceſs, and not he of *Mentz*, though he be Dean of the Electoral Colledge.

P. Certainly this is no ſmall honour to the *Palatine* Houſe; but wherein conſiſts its greatneſs?

G. If theſe Princes did all aim at the benefit, advancement, and glory of the whole Houſe in generall, and if there were no hatred between the Branches; *Bavaria*, the upper & lower *Palatinate* the *Landgraveſhip* of *Leuchtemberg*, the Lordſhips of *Simmeren*, of *Deux-Ponts*, & of *Weldents*,

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the Dutchy of *Juliers*, the Archbishopric of *Collen*, the Bishopricks of *Liege*, *Hildesheim* and *Freisinguen*, which this House possesses at this time, would make it formidable to all its Enemies, as well by reason of its vast forces, as because it hath three voices in the Electoral Colledge, and at the least eight or ten in that of the Princes.

P. I know that the Elector of *Bavaria* in the quality of Duke hath the first voice among the Secular Princes, that Duke *Albert* his Uncle hath one as Landgrave of *Leuchtemberg*, that the *Palatine* of *Simmeren* hath another, and he of *Newbourg* too, and it may be some other younger brethren of the House have voices also for *Deux-ponts*, in like manner as for the Bishopricks of *Hildesheim*, *Liege*, and *Freisinguen*. But tell me something of the alliances of this House.

G. It is allied to all the great Families not only of the Empire, but of Europe. The Emperor *Ferdinand* II. married in the first year of the Century current *Mary Anne*, daughter to *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, by whom he had issue *Mary Anne* wife to *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, *Cecily* wife to *Uladislaus* IV. King of *Poland*, *Ferdinand* III. Emperor, who had for his first wife *Mary Infanta* of *Spain*, and by her *Mary Anne* wife to *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*. On the other side *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, son of *William* and of *Renata* of *Lorraine*,

Lorraine, left a ſon who in the year 1650. married *Adelaïs* daughter to *Victor Amedeus* Duke of *Savoy* and to *Chriſtina* of *France*, who is allied by conſanguinity to all the greateſt Kings and Princes in Chriſtendom.

P. Theſe are indeed very great Alliances.

G. But this is not all. *Frederick* V. Elector *Palatine* in the year 1613. married *Elizabeth* daughter of *James* King of great *Britain*, and by reaſon of her the Houſe became allied to the Kings of *England* and *Denmark*. *Philip Lewis* his brother in the year 1631. married *Mary Eleonor* daughter to *Joachim Frederick* Elector of *Brandenbourg*; and his ſiſter *Elizabeth Charlotta* was given in marriage to *George William* Elector of *Brandenbourg*, *July* 14. 1626. *Philip William* Duke of *Newbourg* his firſt wife was *Anne Catherine* daughter to *Sigiſmond* King of *Poland*; and *John Caſimir* was the worthy husband of *Catherine* daughter to *Charles*, and mother to *Charles Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*. From whence it may eaſily be ſeen that few Houſes in *Europe* are better allied then this, which, beſides what we have newly mentioned, is of kin to the Houſes of *Heſſe*, *Gonzaga*, *Bourbon*, *Naſſau*, *Saxony*, *Juliers*, *Wirtemberg*, *Rohan*, and many others.

P. Is not this Elector Palatine *Charles Lewis* married?

G. I forgot to tell you, that this Prince, who at leaſt equals, if he doth not go beyond

all his Ancestors in Prudence and Magnanimity, hath taken to wife *Charlotta* the worthy daughter of the incomparable *Amelia Elizabeth* Landgraves of *Hess*; which is sufficient to say, that he could not have made a better choice. *Edward* this Electors brother married *Anne* daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Mantua* and *Neuers*; and *Henrietta* their sister dyed a little after she was married to the Prince of *Transylvania*: His other brethren and sisters are yet to marry. *Robert* and *Maurice* have given proof of their ability and courage upon occasions almost without number; and the Princesses *Elizabeth*, *Loüyse*, and *Sophia*, having made skilful masters confess, that the Science have nothing so sublime, nor Picture-drawing any thing so marvellous, but the wit and hand of these Ladies have been able to reach it.

P. I hope you will make me a long recital of the Genealogies of great persons; and that you will not omit these Alliances, and these illustrious Princes and Ladies: But that it may be done with the less trouble, I shall be content to hear you discourse it at your leisure. Let us pass, if you please, into *Saxony*; and do me the favour to tell me what you know of the Electoral House.

G. There is not any House in Europe more glorious then that of *Saxony*. It restored the honour of the Empire after the race of *Charlemagne* had lost its first vigour; and under one

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Henry and three *Otho's* it confirmed the Imperial dignity unto *Germany*; it conquered many enemies, gave Princes to *Savoy*, and (if it be true, that *Hugh Capet* was descended from this House) it hath likewise furnished *France* with their Kings.

P. Do not the Kings of *Denmark* also come from *Witikind* of *Saxony*?

G. It is said that the Counts of *Oldenbourg* are a branch of this great Stock; and it is most certain, that after the death of *Christopher* III. the Danes would have chosen *Adolph* Duke of *Schleswick*, who would not accept of the Crown in regard of his great age, declaring that such an honour would be better placed upon the person of *Christian* Count of *Oldenbourg* his grandchild and heir apparent. The Danes taking this counsel, and admiring the generosity of him that gave it, chose *Christian* the first of that name, whose posterity Reigns at this day in *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Schleswick*, *Holstein*, *Stormar* and *Dithmarsh*.

P. We will take another time to speak of the Kings of *France* and *Denmark*, and of the Dukes of *Savoy*. It will be sufficient for the present to inform me, when the Electoral Cap was first brought into this House, into how many branches it is divided, how many voices it hath in the Diets, and what are its principal forces and alliances.

G. The Emperor *Sigismond* knowing the

merit of *Frederick* the Warlike Marquiſs [of] *Miſnia*, and the obligation that the Emp[eror] had to his Predeceſſors, charged *Eric* V. of t[he] Houſe of *Saxon-Lawembourg* for having lapſ[ed] his due time of demanding the Inveſtiture [of] the Electorſhip, which his Anceſtors had po[ſ]ſeſſed ever ſince the year 1180. and transf[er]red the ſame upon the forenamed *Frederick* [on] Twelfth-day 1423. Since that time this Hou[ſe] hath without interruption poſſeſſed the Elect[o]ral dignity, with the Dutchy of *Saxony*, t[he] Marquiſate of *Miſnia*, & the Landgraveſhip [of] *Thüringia*: And by a further accumulation [of] good fortune, it inherited the Principality [of] *Henneberg*; nay, ſince the laſt War of *Bohem[ia]* the Emperor gave the upper and lower *Luſa[tia]* to *John George* Elector of this Houſe, who d[ie]d the 8. of *October* 1656. and was interred [the] 4. of *February* 1657. with more then Reg[al] pomp, there being 3500. perſons in mour[n]ing, and 24. Horſes of State covered with blac[k] and the Electoral Eſcutcheon embroider[ed] thereon, every one of them led by two Gent[le]men.

P. In a late diſcourſe concerning the valia[nt] actions of Duke *Bernard Weymar*, it was ſa[id] that he loved not the Houſe of *Auſtria*, be[-] cauſe it took the Electoral dignity from the branch.

G. It is true, that *John Frederick* ſurnam[ed] the Magnanimous, having taken arms for the l[i]ber[ty]

berty of Religion, was deprived of his dignity by the Emperor *Charles* V. who took him prisoner near *Wirtemberg*, and gave the Electorate to *Maurice* in the year 1547. Thus passed this dignity into another branch, and the elder became younger brethren. For this cause there was but little confidence and kindness between the Princes of this House: But as there is no grief which is not diminished by length of time, even so the bitterness between these Princes hath been sweetned, and they seem to be entirely reconciled: For *Frederick William* Duke of *Altembourg* took for his second wife *Magdalen Sibylla* daughter to *John George* the Elector last deceased; and *Maurice* son to the same Elector hath married *Dorothy Mary* daughter to *William* Duke *Weymar*, eldest son of that matchless *Bernard*, whose praises you have heard.

P. For so much as I perceive, this House is divided into many branches.

G. Not counting the Kings of *France* and *Denmark*, and the Dukes of *Savoy*, who are the illustrious Ciens that sprung out of this great Tree, the Electoral House of *Saxony* is divided into two principal branches, in each whereof there have been six Electors. The last of the first branch lost the Electoral dignity, because he was unsuccessful in making War for the liberty of *Germany* against *Charles* V. and the first of the second branch left the Electoral

Cap unto his brother and his posterity, for h
ving happily taken and born arms in favour
his Countrey against the same Emperor.

P. I pray make this business out a little cle
er to me.

G. *Frederick* III. of that name, Elector
Saxony, having taken Doctor *Luther* under h
protection, left both his dignity and zeal e
tailed upon his son *John* the Constant, w
likewise transmitted them both to *John Fre
rick* surnamed the Magnanimous. Now it ca
to pass that *Charles* V. moved with a zeal f
the Catholick Religion, endeavoured to ma
the Protestants submit to the doctrine of *Ro*
which *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* vig
rously opposed: But on the other side *Ma
rice* son to *Henry* the Pious Cousin to this El
ctor, desiring to fish in troubled water, a
do his own business, took part with the Emp
ror, and while that War lasted, taking t
advantage of *John Fredericks* absence, entr
upon some of his Forts and Castles. T
which cause the Elector retreated out of *Sa
ben*, and came to succour his own Territori
The Emperor pursued him, beat him, took h
prisoner, and stript him of his Electorsh
with which he invested *Maurice*. Not long a
ter, a fear was awakened in *Maurice* his mi
lest *Germany* might lose its liberty, and t
Protestants their Religion; whereupon he a
ed leave of *Philip Landgrave* of *Hesse*, a
thou

though he could not obtain it, yet he made himself Head of a Confederacy which forced the Emperor to an accommodation of greater advantage to the *Lutherans*. A little after, *Maurice* died of the wounds he had received in a battel fought between him and *Albert* Marquis of *Brandenbourg*. This Prince was succeeded in the Electorship by *Augustus* his brother, who having reigned till the first of *October* 1585. left the Electoral Cap to *Christian* I. Father to *Christian* II. and *John George* the first of that name, who died in the year 1656. and was succeeded by his eldest son.

P. So the Descendents of *John Frederick* the Magnanimous lost the Electorship for his undertaking the defense of the Lutheran Religion.

G. So it was indeed; and that Prince is so much the more to be admired, that during his imprisonment, and after he had lost all, he exhorted every man to constancy, and opened his purse liberally towards the relief of those that were persecuted for matter of Religion. This great personage coming out of his captivity, which had continued five years, received his lands again (which his Successors possess at this day) and among others left two sons, the elder of whom called by his Fathers name *John Frederick*, having entertained some Rebels in his Fortress of *Gotta*, was besieged there, taken, and deprived of his estate, which yet was

reſtored to *John Caſimir* and *John Ernſt* his children. The younger of the foreſaid Elector's children, called *John William*, bare arms for the aſſiſtance of *Henry* II. King of *France*; and afterwards retired to *Weymar*, where he married *Dorothy Suſan*, daughter to *Frederick* III. Elector Palatine, by whom he had two ſons, from the elder of which comes *Frederick William*, who reſides at *Altembourg*; and from the younger the Dukes of *Weymar* and *Gotta* are deſcended, who are the only ſurvivors of ten children that he had, of whom the undaunted *Bernard* was the youngeſt.

P. I have heard ſay, there is ſome diſpute for precedency between the Duke of *Altembourg*, and thoſe of *Weymar* and *Gotta* his Couſins.

G. In this point there is no regard had to the proximity of blood, becauſe there is no yielding in part without loſing all. However this diſpute was determined upon theſe terms, That Duke *Frederick William* ſhould precede as long as he lived, and after his death the moſt aged ſhould have that preference, without reſpect had to any thing elſe; For in the Houſe of *Saxony* there being no right of Elderſhip, all the Princes are equal, and amongſt perſons of equal condition age only gives the precedency. And it is to be underſtood that there is no regard had to the right of primogeniture, but inaſmuch as it concerns the Electorſhip, in

which

which caſe the neareſt kinſman inherits it.

P. *John Caſimir* and *John Erneſt* ſons of *John Frederick* II. of that name (who, as you have mentioned above, was kept priſoner in the Fortreſs of *Gotta*) did they leave no children?

G. No; and their Principalities were divided among their Couſins: So as Duke *Frederick William* had the Dutchy of *Cobourg*, and thoſe of *Weymar* & *Gotta* had that of *Eiſenach*. By means whereof they are all well enough: but as it is the cuſtome of theſe Princes to ſhare their lands equally, the lots may chance to become very little; for *William* Duke of *Weymar* hath four ſons; and *Erneſt* reſiding at *Gotta*, ſeven.

P. I perceive then, that the Deſcendents of the Elector *John Frederick* are divided into three branches, and after the death of their Fathers they will be ſub-divided into three times as many. The Nephews of the Elector *Auguſtus* will do no leſs; ſince they are four, and likely to have more children. I would willingly know out of what Houſes they took their wives, and what every one of them obtained for his part after the death of the Father.

G. *John George* Elector of *Saxony*, Father of another *John George*, and of *Auguſtus*, *Chriſtian* and *Maurice*, died in the year 1656. and bequeathed by his laſt Will to *Auguſtus* Adminiſtrator of *Magdebourg* twelve Bailywicks about *Hall*, and in *Thuringia*; to *Chriſtian*, the

the Dioceſe of *Marsbourg*, and ſome lands in *Fordland*, *Voidland*, and in the Mountains, to *Maurice*, beſides the Dioceſes of *Naumbourg* and *Zeitz*, all that his Electoral Highneſs pretended to in the Principality of *Henneberg*; and to *John George*, who is Elector, beſides the lands inſeparable from the Electoral dignity, he gave the upper and lower *Luſatia*, with ſome Bailywicks about *Dreſden*. Ordering likewiſe that every one of theſe Princes ſhould equally participate of the ready money, Artillery, and the Utenſils and equipage of Hunting, which he left.

P. Queſtionleſs thoſe Princes muſt have found a vaſt Treaſure; for that Elector cauſed much money to be coined, and ſo locked it up, that very little of it was ſeen abroad. Tell me now ſomething of the marriage of theſe Princes, and of their Siſters.

G. The Siſters of theſe Princes are ſtill living, and the eldeſt is married to *George Landgrave* of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, the ſecond to *Frederick* Duke of *Holſtein*, and the youngeſt to *Frederick William* Duke of *Altembourg*. The Elector was married the 13. of *November* 1638. to *Magdelen Sibyll* daughter to *Chriſtian* Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg*, and hath had one ſon by her of his own name, born the 20. of *June* 1647. *Auguſtus* took to wife *November* 23. 1647. *Anne Mary* daughter to *Adolph Frederick* Duke of *Meklebourg*, and hath three ſons by

by her. *Christian* and *Maurice* were married upon the same day; the first to *Christina*, and the second to *Sophia Hedwig*, sisters, and daughters to *Philip* Duke of *Holstein*: by whom *Christian* hath two sons and one daughter; and his brother hath had children, but they are dead, as is the Mother also. These are all the Princes of *Saxony*, who have their habitations at *Dresden*, at *Hall*, at *Marsbourg*, and at *Naumbourg*; that is, all the Descendents of the Elector *Augustus*. They of the other Line, which (as we have said) was the principal, are *Frederick William* Duke of *Altembourg*, husband to *Magdelen Sibyll* daughter to *John George* Elector of *Saxony*, by whom he hath a son and a daughter; *William* Duke of *Weymar*, Cousin to the former, husband to *Eleonor Dorothy* daughter to *John George* Prince of *Anhalt*; and *Ernest* his brother, residing at *Gotta*, who married *Octob.* 24. 1636. *Elizabeth Sophia* daughter to *John Philip* Duke of *Saxony*. By which you see the alliances of these Princes, as heretofore you learnt the number of their children. For what concerns the voices they have in the Assemblies; besides that of the Elector, the Administrator of *Magdebourg* hath one; the Duke of *Altembourg*, two; they of *Weymar* and *Gotta*, each of them one; and all together one for the Principality of *Henneberg*.

P. How did the *Saxons* come to inherit that Principality? G. The

G. The Counts of *Henneberg* having flouriſhed for above 800. years, the Emperor offered them the quality of Prince, which they accepted. But as things of this world are of ſhort continuance, that Houſe failed totally in the year 1583. and that of *Saxony* took poſſeſſion of the eſtate by vertue of a Confraternity made between thoſe Princes in the year 1554. This Principality is ſituated partly upon the mountain and foreſt of *Thuringia*, partly on this ſide towards *Franconia*. It remains undivided ſtill, becauſe the Elector, who hath five eighth ſhares in it, hath not been willing to make partitions in ſeveralty, as the Dukes of *Altembourg*, *Weymar*, and *Gotta* deſired him to do. This Countrey lies very commodiouſly for the Princes of *Saxony*, becauſe it joyns their Landgraveſhip of *Thuringia* with the lands they hold in *Franconia*, and gives them a paſſage of great difficulty in that mountain. To conclude, this Houſe is potent by the extent and fertility of its lands, by the great number of Nobility there inhabiting, by its good mines of Silver and Copper, and by the excellent Fortreſſes of *Leipſick*, *Wittenberg*, *Dreſden*, *Königſtein*, and many others, which put theſe Princes above parallel, as well as that Soverain Juſtice they all exerciſe upon their own lands, from which no man is allowed to appeal.

P. By what I underſtand, theſe Princes are to be reckoned amongſt the firſt and greateſt of the

the Empire, as well becauſe the moſt illuſtrious think themſelves happy if they can derive their Origin from this Houſe, as alſo becauſe they are very highly priviledged. And if I be not miſtaken, the Marquiſſes of *Brandenbourg* have no great cauſe to envy them.

G. I do not know of any King that comes in a direct male Line from the Marquiſſes of *Brandenbourg*: Nevertheleſs this Houſe is allied to all the great ones of Chriſtendom, and is no leſs potent thoſe that are the moſt eſteemed in the Empire. It hath the Dutchies of *Pruſſia* and *Cleve*, the Principalities of *Halberſtad*, *Minden*, *Sculemberg*, and *Anſpach*, the moyety of *Pomerania*, the expectance or next reverſion of the Dutchy of *Magdebourg*, the Marquiſate of *Brandenbourg* whereto the Electoral dignity is annexed; in a word, it hath ſo much land, that to put it beyond compariſon in *Germany*, there remains nothing to be wiſht, but that the Eſtates thereof were contiguous.

P. Are theſe lands very diſtant one from another?

G. They are not ſo far off, but that a Courier ſetting out from *Cleve* to ride to this Elector in the furtheſt parts of *Pruſſia*, may lye almoſt every night in his Maſters Territories, from the Countrey of *Cleve* into that of *Juliers*, from thence into the County of the *Mark*, ſo to *Ravensbourg*, out of which he enters into the Dioceſe of *Minden*, and from thence

thence into the Principality of *Halberſtad*, from whence he reacheth the New Marquiſate at night, and ſo of the reſt, paſſing on through *Pomerania*. All which voyage is two hundred German leagues long, wherein he is not to be equalled by any Prince in *Germany*.

P. The Reformed Religion, whereof this Elector makes profeſſion, differing from that of his Subjects, he is thereby leſs powerful in my opinion; and if he would embrace the Lutheran, which his Grandfather forſook, and (as many believe) only out of worldly conſiderations, he would enlarge his power, and (if I be not deceived) his Subjects would have more confidence in him.

G. This Prince is Reformed, and all his Subjects, except thoſe of *Cleve*, follow the doctrine of *Luther*; but that abates not either the Princes love toward his Subjects, or the Subjects obedience toward their Prince. His Electoral Highneſs hath Preaching within his Palace after his way, and permits the Lutherans to teach their doctrine through all his Eſtates. Now the diverſity of Religion between Kings and their Subjects is little prejudicial to a State, except when they would lay violence upon conſciences, and force men in that which ought to be free.

P. I am of another opinion, and am perſwaded that difference in Religion hath poured out thoſe deluges of blood which our Fathers and

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we have seen with horror in *France* and *Germany*.

G. It is most certain, that Religion hath cost many thousand mens lives; that it were to be wisht, there were but one Religion in a State; and that *Philip* the Prudent II. of that name, King of *Spain*, did many times say, he had rather not have a Countrey, then have it infected with Heresie. I do also grant, that *France* and *Germany* were in danger to perish in their blood, by reason of different Religions; but it was only when endeavors were used to force men to go to Mass against their will, or to deprive Princes of the means to maintain their Subjects in the liberty of their conscience. Otherwise Religion is a strong bulwark for the preservation of both those States; and the *Spanyard* did not lose his hope of attaining to the Monarchy of Europe, till he saw the Reformation stop the passage against his Gold as well as against his Armies.

P. I have heard it said, that when *Henry* the Great came to the Crown of *France*, all the Catholicks of Europe bandied their power to hinder him from sitting upon the Throne, and that he had not arrived thither, but by his valour accompanied with his Right, and with the services which he received from the Protestants; but I do not see wherein diversity of Religion is beneficial to *Germany*, since the miseries of the last War proceeded from no other source but that.

G. *Ger-*

G. *Germany* receives no less advantage from the Reformation of *Luther*, then *France* from that of *Calvin*. The Empire had been Hereditary before this time, and the Princes become Subjects, if the Reformation, and the desire of maintaining Religion had not opened our eyes. The *Italians*, who are very clear-sighted in matters of State, have perceived this long since; and *Boculini* when he brings in *Apollo* making answer to Sir *Thomas Moore*, that all people will be Catholicks when the King of *Spain* will be content with *Castile*, and the Emperor with the County of *Habspourg*, shows manifestly that Religion defends us from slavery.

P. This digression hath not been unpleasant to me; and I believe, as you do, that Religion and the State do mutually support one the other. But do not forget to tell me something of the beginning, progress, priviledges, immunities, and alliances of the House of *Brandenbourg*, of which you have begun to speak already.

G. All they that discourse of this House, make it the Head, or a Member of the *Colonna's* of *Rome*: As for me, who cannot be perswaded that the great Houses of *Germany* came out of *Italy*, but on the contrary (following the judgement of *Thomas Lansius*) hold it for certain that many great Families of *Italy* came out of *Germany* since the time of *Charles* the great;

great, I am of their opinion, who would make *Peter Coloma* that built the ſtrong Caſtle of *Zolleren* (from which the firſt Counts of this Family took their name) to deſcend from the ancient *Guelphes*, that is, from the Dukes of *Brunſwick*: which being ſo, this Houſe gives place to never a one in the Empire for greatneſs of Origin.

P. They that pretend to honor our Houſes of *Germany* by fetching them either out of the *Trojan* horſe, or the ruines of *Rome*, do not know that the Ancient *Germans* are of more worth then the fugitive *Trojans*, and the effeminate *Romans*. But I am of your opinion, and deſire only to be informed, how theſe Lords acquired the honors and eſtates which they poſſeſs.

G. The Emperor *Rodolph* of *Habſpourg*, being deſirous to give ſome teſtimony of the value he put upon his nephew *Frederick* Count of *Hohenzolleren*, made him Burgrave of *Nuremberg* in the year 1273. and 156. years after, upon the 18. of *April* the Emperor *Sigiſmond* raiſed *Frederick* V. Burgrave of *Nuremberg* to the Electoral dignity, to recompenſe him for the acceptable ſervices he had done in the War of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*: So the Princes of *Anhalt* who had obtained that Electorſhip by the favor of the Emperor *Conrade* the III. of that name, in the year 1152. loſt it by incurring the diſpleaſure of the Emperor

Sigismond. Some while after, certain differences arising between the Houses of *Brandenburg* and *Pomerania*, they fell to open hostility, at last to an agreement expresly declaring, That in case the House of *Pomerania* happened to fail, the Marquisses of *Brandenburg* should possess the Principalities that belonged to it; and *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, from great Master of the Knights *Marianites* (as he was) making himself absolute Prince of *Prussia*, received the investiture thereof from the King of *Poland*. The Dutchies of *Juliers*, *Cleve*, and *Berg*, with the Counties of the *Mark* and *Ravensburg*, were divided between the Elector *John Sigismond* and *Wolfgang William* Duke of *Neuburg*, some time after the War which those Principalities occasioned in the year 1610. But for that which this House possesses in *Franconia*, it is their ancient patrimony.

P. Why did not the Elector of *Brandenburg* take possession of *Pomerania* as soon as the House was totally extinct?

G. The Elector neglected not his Right, and would willingly have taken possession of the great Principality, if it had not been in the hands of the *Swedes*: But the Crown of *Sweden* being victorious in *Germany*, and desirous to keep footing there, would not hearken to any peace, but upon condition of leaving also Maritime Province to them, it lying very conveniently for them. Therefore as Conqueror

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use to give the Law, the *Swedes* kept the choicest of this Province, and left the doctrine of *Calvin* with a part of *Pomerania* unto this Elector; who by way of recompense for his loss, obtained the Bishopricks of *Halberstad* and *Minden*, and the expectance or reversion of the Archbishoprick of *Magdebourg*, converted into Principalities.

M. I wonder why they should give this Elector three Principalities for the moyety of one; and why the Archbishoprick of *Magdebourg* was not delivered into his hands immediately after the Peace, as well as those two other Bishopricks.

G. I do not think the Lower *Pomerania*, which the Elector hath quitted to the *Swedes*, yields so good a revenue as the Principalities of *Magdebourg*, *Halberstad*, and *Minden*: Nevertheless I am perswaded, this Elector would rather have had that part of *Pomerania*, then the three Principalities which he received in lieu of it; by reason of the Sea-force he had thereby gotten, and the inconvenience of having a potent Neighbour that keeps him in perpetual jealousie. And therefore the States of the Empire having regard to those considerations, have given him voices in the Assemblie, as Duke of *Pomerania* and of *Magdebourg*, and as Prince of *Halberstad* and of *Minden*. Now because heretofore the Archbishops of *Magdebourg* and *Bremen* took their turns in the Direc-

ction of the Circle of Lower *Saxony*, this Elector doth in like manner alternate at this day with the King of *Sweden* in the same quality. As to your other scruple, why the Dutchy of *Magdebourg* was not presently put into his hands, you ought to remember, that *Augustus* youngest son of the Elector of *Saxony* being in possession of it, it was not thought meet to dispossess him thereof so long as he lived.

P. The *Gazette* hath often made mention of the difference between the Houses of *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg* for the Dutchies of *Juliers*, *Cleve*, and *Berg*; yet I could never learn the ground of it. Do me the favour to tell me from whence that contest proceeds.

G. You are entring into a Labyrinth, out of which *Ariadne's* clew will not bring us back, if we pass further on. Let it content you then if you please, to know that all the Dukes of *Saxony*, many Princes Palatine, and amongst others the King of *Sweden*, bear the name and Armes of those Principalities; and that it may be feared, they may one day kindle a flame to consume a good part of the Empire. *Pruckman* Chancellor of *Gotta* hath made a long narration of this matter in his Treatise of diverse Resolutions, to whom I refer you. It is sufficient for you at the present to learn, that if the Fief follow the Males, and that the daughters neither can nor ought to inherit the same, the Duke of *Saxony* have a better right to it then any other

other person, because they obtained the survivorship of the House of *Juliers* in recompense of the services which *Albert* the Couragious did the Emperor and the Empire against *Matthias Corvin* King of *Hungary*, who molested *Austria*; and against *Charles* the Brave Duke of *Burgundy*, who had laid siege to *Neus*, and laboured to bring all the Archbishoprick of *Colen* under his Jurisdiction. This grant was made to *Albert* by the Emperor *Frederick* III. *June* 16. 1483. and afterwards confirmed and amplified in the person and posterity of *Ernest* Duke of *Saxony* by *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, *September* 18. 1486. and by him again after he was Emperor, in the year 1495. But in case it be supposed that Females may inherit those Fiefs, it will be then demanded, whether this Priviledge which was granted to *Mary* only daughter to *William* Duke of *Juliers*, ought to be extended unto *Mary Eleonor* her daughter, and to the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* and his Successors; or rather to *Anne* only, Niece to the said *Mary Eleonor*, excluding *Magdalen* wife to *John* Duke of *Deux-ponts*, and *Sibyll* Marchioness of *Burgon*, her sisters (daughters to *William*, and sisters to *John William* the last of that Family, Duke of *Juliers* and *Cleve*) who received the same priviledge from the Emperor *Charles* V. in the year, 1546.

P. It is then the inheritance of *John William*

Duke of *Juliers*, which served for a pretence to the vast preparation that *Henry* IV. King of *France* made when he was unfortunately assassinated; which hath already occasioned some misunderstandings between the Houses of *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg*, and which may yet cause greater. But let us leave these intricacies to be disentangled by those that are concerned, and take a further view of the immunities, priviledges, and Alliances of the House of *Brandenbourg*.

G. The Golden Bull, which hath in all things been exceeding liberal and free of the graces of the Empire towards the Electors, grants them all in general, and every one in particular, Soverain Justice. Some say that these Electors not regarding this priviledge so much as they ought, carelessly lost it; and having been depriv'd of it many years, at last the Elector *Joachim Frederick* got himself repossessed of this Right by the Emperor *Rodolph* II. For my part, I am of another opinion, and think with the greater number of Writers, that they always preserved and enjoyed it. As for the order of place observed in Assemblies, this Elector is the last but one, since the creation of the eighth Electorship. We have already said, that he hath many voices; and the younger brethren of his House, to wit, the Marquisses of *Culembach* and of *Anspach* have each of them one, but no right to give a definitive

finitive judgement in their Subjects causes, if the sum exceed 300. Florins of the *Rhine*.

P. I would gladly know whether there be many Princes of this House.

G. At the time I now write, there are three married, and three children. The Elector *Frederick William* son to *George William* and *Elizabeth Charlotta* Princess Electoral *Palatine*, after long hopes of marrying the matchless *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* (who hath since declared that she will dy a Maid) was married *December* 7. 1646. to *Louise* of *Nassau* daughter to the great Town-taker *Frederick Henry* Prince of *Orange*, by whom he hath a son called *Charles Amelius*, who was born *February* 2. 1655. and another named *N. N.* born———1657. The Electoral Branch doth at this time consist of these three Princes. The Marquisses of *Culembach* and *Barbeit* are *Christian Ernest* son to *Herman Augustus* and *Sophia* daughter to *Joachim Ernest*, also Marquis of *Brandenbourg*: This young Prince was born *July* 27. 1644. and *George Albert* his Unkle born in 1619. married *Mary Elizabeth* daughter to *Philip* Duke of *Holstein* in the year 1651. The third Branch which resides at *Anspach* hath been long in fear of ending without issue Male, there being none but *Albert* son to *Joachim Ernest* and to *Sophia* Countess of *Solmes*, who in her life time had but few her equals in vertue and

beauty. This Prince, endued with piety as well as magnanimity, was born *September* 28. 1620. and in 1642. married *Henrietta Loüyse* daughter to *Lewis Fredrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, by whom he had only two daughters. But that Princess being gone to receive in Heaven the Crown which her vertues merited upon earth, this Lord hath taken for his second wife *Sophia Margaret* daughter to *Joachim Ernest* Count of *Ottingnen*: And by this Lady, who is a Phenix in beauty, courage and liberality, he had a son *October* 8. 1655. and is at this time in hopes of having many more. Which I wish he may, and pray God that imitating their Ancestors, they may be as so many *German Achilles* and *Alcibiades*.

P. Have these Princes any good Forts, full Magazins, and wherewithal to bring Armies into the field?

G. The Elector hath at this present very considerable forces in *Prussia*, where he takes part with the King of *Sweden*; and he is of so high esteem by the means he hath to help and to harm, that he is courted on all hands. His Forts are exceeding well maintained, and as well provided: *Custrin* hath never been taken, *Pillaw* and *Memel* make him redoubted in *Prussia*, *Colberg* in *Pomerania*, *Drisen* in the *Mark*, and *Landsperg* upon the *Vard*. His Cousins of *Culembach* and *Anspach* have their sure retreats at *Blassembourg* and *Melspourg*.

And

And forasmuch as Princes strike their enemies more smartly with the head, then with the hand; the Elector and the Marquis of *Anspach* are as much to be feared for their prudence, as for their valour.

The end of the third Dialogue.

Dialogue IIII.

Of the Secular Princes of the Empire.

P. If you be so particular in describing the Origin, progress, and Alliances of the Princes, as you have been in those of the Electors, it will be long before we get out of *Germany*.

G. The desire I have to see you speedily comprehend the manners, strength, and Laws of other well governed Nations in *Europe*, will quicken me to pass as lightly as may be over the consideration of the Princes of the Empire. We must nevertheless speak of all those that have place in the Assemblies.

P. I am content you should do so; but your undertaking will carry you out of *Germa-*

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ny, or into a tedious repetition: for the King of *Sweden*, the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, and many Princes of his and other Electoral Houſes whereof you have already made mention, are in the number of thoſe who have place in the Diets of the Empire.

G. Having elſewhere ſaid that this King, and ſome younger brethren of Electoral Houſes have voices in the general Aſſemblies; I ſhall not repeat it here, and ſhall ſpeak of the Duke of *Lorraine* in another place, becauſe his Eſtate is at preſent in the moſt Chriſtian Kings hands.

P. By that means you will very much ſhorten this diſcourſe, and yet not loſe the opportunity of entertaining me with the commemoration of that Houſe, wherein Valour, Affability, and modeſty ſeem to be natural.

G. Since there is nothing more dear to me, then to give you content, I ſhall willingly omit all other matters to diſcourſe upon the Houſes of *Brunſwick*, *Meklebourg*, *Wirtemberg*, *Heſſe*, *Baden*, *Holſtein*, *Saxon-Lawembourg*, *Anhalt*, *Hohenzolleren*, *Arembergh*, *Hennebergh*, and *Eaſtfriſeland*: And having conſidered them one after another, I will paſs to the Eccleſiaſtical Princes, the Prelates, the Counts, and the Barons. But before I enter upon this Theme, I beſeech you to conſider, that the King of *Sweden* being a Member of the Empire may very much contribute to the preſervation

of

of its Liberty, and the maintenance of the Protestant Religion.

P. The *French* accuse the *Spaniards* for aiming at the Universal Monarchy, and on the other side the *Spaniards* say that the *French* seek for an opportunity to seize upon the Empire. If it were so, methinks the King of *Sweden* might disappoint the designs of those Monarchs.

G. All Princes know, that their tranquillity depends upon the equal counterpoise of those two Kings, and therefore use their endeavours to hinder the one from bringing the other too much under; but I dare not affirm that either of them have such high thoughts: True it is, that every one ought to fear it, and that the wisest Princes seeing the balance too heavy on one side, help to make weight on the other. The King of *Sweden*, who is prudent in Counsel and valiant in fight, will not be the last to apply a remedy, when he sees the danger. And if he should forget his own and the Empires Interest, the *Venetians*, *Hollanders*, and *Swisses* would employ their money and power for the preservation of theirs and our Liberty.

P. *Europe* breeds a People so ingenuous, knowing, valiant, and so opposite to servitude, that it seems impossible for it ever to come under the obedience of one only person. Let us then leave the Ambitious to rack and torture their minds with imaginary conquests; and

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let us look upon the House of the *Guelphs*, which heretofore possest a great part of *Germany*: And if you will oblige me, speak as distinctly of it as possibly you can.

G. This House, which without dispute held the first rank after the Electors, before the Archbishopricks of *Magdebourg* and *Bremen* were converted into Secular Dignities, is put back those two degrees. Nevertheless it comes not behind any one in antiquity, and had its Territories all along the *Elbe* in the Countrey of *Saxony*, when it followed the fortune of *Albovin* King of the *Lombards*, first into *Pannonia*, and afterwards into *Italy*; where these people fixt their seat, having driven the *Goths* out of it, and gave their name to the Province anciently called *Gallia Cisalpina* about 200. years before the time of *Charlemagne*. Then it was that this family acquired the Dutchy of *Modena*, which it possesseth even at this day.

P. Do you think then that the House of *Este*, which still holds the Dutchy of *Modena*, and lost that of *Ferrara* in the time of Pope *Clement* VIII. after the death of Duke *Alphonso*, is a branch of this of *Brunswick*?

G. I make no doubt of it; and when the Kingdom of the *Lombards* was destroyed in *Italy* by the arms of *Charlemagne*, some Princes of this House came back into their own Countrey; where they had still so large an estate and authority, that the Emperor *Lewis* the

the *Debonair* married *Judith* a Princess of that family, and had by her *Charles* the *Bald*, who was King of *France* and Emperor. This Empress had a brother named *Henry*, to whom *Lewis* his Son-in-law son to *Lewis Germanicus*, gave those lands which are now called *Bavaria*.

P. These indeed are fair and advantagious alliances, which having made those Princes Brothers-in-law and Fathers-in-law to Kings, brought them so considerable a Principality.

G. The Descendents of *Henry* did not long possess this Countrey; for his line failing in *Guelphe* IV. his Nephews son, the Emperor *Henry* IV. gave his inheritance to *Guelphe* V. son to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who (as we have said) was of the same House: And in process of time *Henry* the Proud Duke of *Bavaria* descended from *Guelphe* V. married *Gertrude* daughter to the Emperor *Lotharius* II. who brought him the Dutchy of *Saxony* for her Dowry. The issue of that marriage was *Henry Leo*, who together with *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, possessed many great Principalities lying upon the *Elbe*, and elsewhere.

P. How comes it then to pass that the Successors of *Henry Leo* have their Estate confined within the Dutchies of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*?

G. That Prince being of a high spirit, and not able to comply with the Emperor *Frederick*

rick *Barbarossa* his Uncle, was proscribed and expelled the Empire; and when he was thus driven out of his Estates, he made his refuge into *England* to King *Henry* II. who gave him his daughter *Matilda* or *Maud* to wife, and procured his reconciliation with the Emperor. But because he had in the mean time disposed of the Dutchy of *Bavaria* in favor of the Count of *Schirin*, whose posterity enjoys it to this day, *Henry Leo* was restored to no more then the Dutchy of *Saxony*, which Principality past a little after into the House of *Saxen-Lawembourg* by the marriage of *Helen* daughter to the Emperor *Otho* IV. and grandchild to *Henry Leo* with *Albert* I. of that name Elector of *Saxony*. At that time *Frederick* II. gave the title of Duke of *Brunswick* and *Lunebourg* to *Otho* a Prince of that House.

P. The misfortune of *Henry Leo* should serve for a lesson to Great ones, and make all men see, that it is necessary to honor Superiors, and not to provoke ones Masters.

G. Many great Princes desiring to shake off the yoke of their due obedience, have forfeited their right, and lost that which they would not acknowledge to hold of their Soverain. That was the quarrel against the King of *England*, who was devested of the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Guyenne* by *Charles* VII. King of *France*: And if the *Guelphes* had husbanded their strength better, and paid the Emperor

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the respect they ought him, they had still been the most potent Princes in *Germany*.

P. They are far less at present then they were in the time of *Henry Leo*, and yet they seem to be very considerable by their own forces, and by their alliances.

G. All the Houses that have admitted the right of Primogeniture, are better kept up then others. This having a large Estate, and four voices in the Assemblies, is divided but into two principal branches, which are equal in dignity; but the elder in years of the two Chiefs precedes the other in the general and particular Assemblies. They all bear the same title, and if one branch happen to fail, the other shall succeed it. They have both of them good Fortresses; *Wolfenbottel*, *Cel*, *Hanover*, *Luneburg*, and *Giffhorne*, are strong places under the command of these Princes. *Brunswick* hath never submitted to their power, still enjoying the right of a Free City, though the Duke hath often used skill as well as force to bring it under his obedience. These Princes can raise and maintain great numbers of Souldiers within their Territories. And the neighborhood of *Denmark* and *Sweden* may yet make them more considerable; the Emperor being always willing to gratifie them to keep them to him, and strangers to gain them to their side.

P. It is certain that a Prince whose lands border upon a Forain State, may easily make himself

himself more valuable, then if they lay in the heart of the *Empire*; but there is a great deal of prudence to be used in such cases.

G. The Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Savoye* have always been very much considered for the situation of their Estates, and the need that neighboring Monarchs had of their assistance. For which cause *Bocalini* having brought them to be weighed at *Laurence de Medicis* his Scales, finds them as heavy as Kings. Yet if these Princes be not very quick and expert as well as valiant and resolute, they may hazard the loss of all. *Emanuel* Duke of *Savoye*, who had no equal in courage, and but few in prudence, having a little slackned the Maximes of his accustomed Politicks, saw himself almost totally ruined; and Duke *Charles* of *Lorraine* is still out of his Countrey, for having justled against that party that was able to fall foulest upon him. So that Frontier Provinces stand in need of Princes endued with an extraordinary vertue, and an unparalleled vigilance, otherwise they rather bring bring harm then advantage.

P. The present Princes of *Brunswick* and *Luneburg* are so great personages, that I make no question but they use a Policy worthy of themselves. Tell me something of their Alliances.

G. All the Houses of *Germany* have great relations, but one shall find few of them like this, that hath had in marriage seven daughters

sers of Kings, one of an Emperor, and four Electoral Princesses: It hath also bestowed three of its Princesses upon Kings, one upon an Archduke, many upon Electors, and far more upon other Princes of the Empire. It hath likewise had in marriage Palatine Princesses, Dutchesses of *Brabant*, *Savoy*, *Cleve*, *Pomerania*, *Meklebourg*, *Wirtemberg*, *Saxon-Lawenbourg*, and *Berg*, *Marchionesses* of *Brandenburg*, *Landgravesses* of *Hesse*, and in a word, daughters of all the illustrious Houses of the Empire.

P. I think this whole Family is of the Protestant Religion.

G. When Duke *Julius* took the government upon him, he spent three years in the Reformation of his Countrey, and being assisted by the care and knowledge of Doctor *James Andrew* Chancellor of the University of *Tubing*, brought his design to such perfection in the year 1570. that it continues in vigour to this day, and learning in the highest ascendent by the diligence of the Professors which these Princes maintain in their University of *Helmestad*. All this Family follows the doctrine of *Luther*, except *John Frederick*, who was born *April* 25. 1625. and embracing the Roman-Catholick Religion in the year 1650. solaces himself at this time in *Italy*.

P. Hath this Prince many brethren?

G. The whole branch of *Lunebourg* consists

of four young Lords; of whom, *Ernest Augustus* is designed for the Bishoprick of *Osnabrug*; *John Frederick* may arrive to eminent preferment in the Church, if he engage not in marriage; *George William* shall be setled at *Hanwick*; and *Christian Lewis* their eldest brother hath married *Dorothy* daughter to *Philip* Duke of *Holstein*. This Prince, who resides at *Cel*, is obliged to pay to each of his younger brethren 12000. Rix-dollars yearly, and much more to the youngest. *Sophia Amelia* their sister is married to *Frederick* III. King of *Denmark*; and their Mother *Anne Eleonor*, daughter to *Lewis Landgrave* of *Darmstadt* is yet living.

P. Pass on, if you please, to the branch of *Brunswick*.

G. The Head of this branch is *Augustus*, the most knowing Prince of Europe. He hath but three sons, of whom *Rodolph Augustus* the eldest hath married *Christina* Countess of *Barby*, as *Antony Ulrick* hath done *Iuliana* Dutchess of *Holstein*; but *Ferdinand Albert* is a Batchelor. So that these two Houses are almost equal in number of Princes, as well as in extent of Territory.

P. I have oftentimes heard mention of the marvellous knowledge of that Duke *Augustus*, and of the Books he hath published; and the judgement which I have heard made thereupon obliges me to ask you, whether it be necessary that a Prince be learned?

G. There

G. There is no doubt to be made, but that Sciences do enhance and adorn the Titles and Souls of Princes, as diadems do their heads, and jewels their Crowns. And although this quality be very rare, yet it is necessary to those that would rule happily and gloriously. *Solomon*, *Alexander* the Great, *Ptolomee*, *Julius Cesar*, *Augustus*, the two *Antonines*, and *Charlemagne*, had never attained to so great renown, if they had not associated Letters with the sword, and learning with valour. Wisdom and Knowledge are such Royal endowments, that the greatest men do not think any State happy, if the Prince be not Wise and Knowing.

P. Since we are occasionally fallen upon this discourse, tell me what Science Princes ought to learn.

G. The first and most necessary Philosophy of a Prince, is to know how to do justice to his People, and defend them from their enemies. And to that end I think he should study to understand those persons that are able to serve him well, and not to neglect the Mathematicks, which teach him both to besiege and fortifie places as he ought, to form Battalions and batteries, to entrench a Camp, and to take his advantage. As to other things, I do not desire that a Prince should spend his time upon Logical notions, nor that he should like a Pedant be evermore bringing out some verse

of *Horace*. It is sufficient that he be ready in Sacred and Prophane History, that he take a delight in Books, and consult the dead, to learn of them what none of the living dare tell him.

P. Then you do not believe it requisite for a Prince to be as skilful in Natural Philosophy as *Bajazet*, in Astronomy as *Alphonsus* King of *Aragon*, nor in Languages as the Emperor *Frederick* II. was.

G. It is as great a fault to aim at knowing too much, as to learn nothing at all. The Prince that hath studied too much, despiseth his Counsellors, and will fetch all his counsels out of his own head; and he that hath learnt nothing, is not capable to make choice of the best advices. He that would oblige a great Lord to make himself as perfect in the Sciences as they that make it their profession, deserves no less blame then if he should forbid him to learn above three words of Latine. Learn then to express your mind in good terms, read such books as may teach you to know the condition of your friends and of your adversaries, be well instructed in truly Christian Politicks, let it be your care distinctly to know those that love the publick Interest, honor them with such offices as they deserve, and leave the rest to your servants.

P. This subject leads us out of our way; I pray let us recover it: And since we have said some-

ſomething already of the Dukes of *Pomerania*, that take their turns with the Houſes of *Meklebourg*, *Wirtemberg*, *Heſſe*, and *Baden*; let us take a view of theſe four one after the other.

G. The Houſe of *Meklebourg* is derived from the *Vandal* Princes, who joyning with the *Goths* ſtruck terror heretofore into the Roman Eagles, and bore their victorious arms in *Italy*, *Gaule*, and *Spain*.

P. Do not you believe that *Bucephalus* his head which they carry in their Eſcutcheon, is not a ſure mark that they are deſcended of one of *Alexander* the Greats Generals?

G. Genealogies that are ſo far fetcht reliſh more of the Romance then of Hiſtory; and Writers that inſiſt upon ſuch Fables, do injury to ancient Houſes. For my part I think it better to confeſs my ſelf ignorant from whence a Family draws its beginning, then to make even the moſt credulous to queſtion what is ſaid of it; and freely acknowledging that I do not know whether theſe Princes be deſcended from a General of that incomparable Conqueror of *Aſia*, I do know that they are of the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Ancient perſonages in *Germany*.

P. If I be not miſtaken, the Emperor *Charles* IV. admitted *Albert* and *John* Dukes of *Meklebourg* (ſons to *Henry Leo* Prince of the *Vandals*) amongſt the Princes of the Empire.

G. *Charles* IV. receiving thoſe Lords into the number of the Eſtates of the Empire, did not give them the quality of Prince, which they had before; but only brought them under the protection of the Empire, by making them Members thereof, upon condition they ſhould be ſubject to its Laws, and contribute to its neceſſities, and ſo enjoy the ſame privileges which other Lords of their degree and quality did.

P. In the time of the laſt Wars the Emperor made thoſe Princes feel the weight of his indignation, giving their lands to *Walleſtein* a Gentleman of *Sileſia*, who by a ſtrange ingratitude and a deviliſh ambition endeavouring to ſeat himſelf upon the Throne of *Bohemia*, and diſpoſſeſs his Maſter of it, came to a miſerable end.

G. The lamentable death of the Duke of *Fridland* gives us to underſtand that Kings have long arms, and that no man ought to abuſe their favors, nor follow the motions which an undaunted courage and an inordinate ambition inſpires. The Duke of *Biron*, and the Earl of *Eſſex* had ſuch like deſigns, and as Tragical Cataſtrophes. As to the Dukes of *Meklebourg*, I am to tell you, that the greateſt part of the Potentates in *Germany* have felt the ſmart of *Mars* his rods, and theſe Princes as much as any other, having ſeen a great Captain indeed, and a renowned Souldier, but unworthy

unworthy of their degree, bear the name and Arms of their Principality: Nevertheless they re-entred into it by the vertue of the Great *Gustavus* their Cousin-Germans; and though the conclusion of the Peace took *Wisman* from them, yet it gave them in exchange the Bishopricks of *Ratzebourg* and *Swerin*, turned into Principalities: So as they have lost nothing, if they do not prefer the convenience of that Haven and its Fort before twice its Revenue.

P. I did not know that these Princes were so near of kin to the late King of *Sweden*.

G. The Great *Gustavus* and these Dukes were sons of two sisters, daughters to *Adolph* Duke of *Holstein*; which proximity of blood moved that Heroical Prince to embrace their interest: So after the Battel of *Leipsick* he turned his victorious arms towards the Dutchy of *Mekelbourg*, and re-placed these Princes there *June* 25. 1631. Three years after, these Lords were reconciled to the Emperor; and at this time live in peace, divided into two branches, the Chiefs whereof make their residence at *Swerin* and at *Gustrow*.

P. Have these two Branches equal shares of the Estate?

G. They have each of them a moyety of the Dutchy, and in regard thereof, a seat and voice in the Assemblies: But *Adolph Frederick* hath eight sons and six daughters; and *Gustavus Adolph*, who is Head of the other Branch,

had no body to participate with him, being an only son. This latter who resides at *Gustrow*, is of great spirit, knowing, courteous, affable, and generous: He married *Magdalen Sibyl* daughter to *Frederick* the present Duke of *Holstein*, and hath one son by her. The children of *Adolph Frederick*, who resides at *Sarin*, are all well made and qualified both in body and mind. *Christian* the eldest hath married his Cousin *Christina Margaret* daughter to *John Albert* Duke of *Mecklebourg*: And *Anne Mary* youngest of the daughters, is the worthy Consort of *Augustus* Duke of *Saxony*, son to the Elector *John George* I. All the rest are still to be married, and all worthy of Kings as well for their inward as their outward beauty. These Princes have all conjunctly one University at *Rostoch*, which was established there in the year 1419 by *John* and *Albert* first Dukes of this House.

P. I should willingly desire a more particular recital of the Alliances of this House; but fearing to be too troublesome to you, I shall forbear that, and intreat you to tell me something concerning that of *Wirtemberg*.

G. I shall not proceed any further, till I have acquainted you that the House of *Mecklebourg* hath had in marriage six daughters of Kings, and five of Electors, within less then 200. years. As for that of *Wirtemberg*, which after it had for many ages born the quality of

Count,

Count, was raised to the Ducal Dignity by the consent of all the Estates of the Empire in a Diet held at *Wormes* 1495, it comes behind never a Family in Revenue, alliances, piety, magnificence, and priviledges. It hath a Countrey, where the Mountains abound in Mines, Wines, and Woods; the Forests are well stored with Timber-trees, Game and Venison of all kinds; the Valleys are a continuation of Meadows covered with Cattle, and watered with Brooks full of Fish; the Plains are thick set with Gardens, and the Gardens like those of the *Hesperides*, or rather like earthly *Paradises*. There is in no place to be seen fairer rows of Orange-trees, Grotta's better contrived and beautified, Fountains more artificial, nor Fruits more pleasant to the sight and taste, then at *Stutgard*. Few Princes have a house of Pleasure and a Heronry within their Garden, as this Duke hath; neither is there any one in the Empire, that hath a greater care of the Sciences and of Learned persons. They that have been at *Tubing*, know how many Princes, Counts, Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen have been bred in the noble Colledge which Duke *Lewis* caused to be built, and which his Successors do splendidly maintain there.

P. Since we are entred upon this discourse, make me (if you please), a more particular description of that Colledge.

G. It would require a more copious and eloquent

quent tongue then mine, to make you comprehend the benefit which the Empire receives by this *Athenæum*. Princes learn there to fear God, to honor the Emperor, to serve their Countrey, to judge of the sincerity of their Confederates, and to cherish their friends. Counts, Barons and Gentlemen do there learn the ways of winning and keeping the favour of Great men, a sweetness of carriage necessary for the maintaining of a perfect friendship amongst equals, and an infinity of vertues, which are the same thing in their Souls that the Soul is in the body, the eye in the head, precious stones in gold, and flowers in meadows.

P. I suppose that in this illustrious Colledge the exercises of the body are no more neglected then those of the mind.

G. One may there learn with little charge and pains that which men go to seek for in *Italy* and *France* at the expense of their health and soundness both in body and soul. *Florence* hath nothing for riding the great horse, nor *Rome* and *Paris* for fencing and dancing Schools, which may not be gotten without going out of *Tubing*, where the University and Colledge have excellent Professors in all faculties, and principally in those which are worthy of illustrious persons.

P. Doth it cost his Highness of *Wirtemberg* much to maintain the Professors, and Masters of exercises, which you now mentioned?

G. More

G. More then you think; but that expense is not considerable in comparison of the glory which redounds from thence. This Colledge and this University are the Pearls which do wonderfully set off the Crown of this Duke: For although he be exceedingly at his ease, though he have whatsoever he can wish, though the delight of Hunting never fail him, though every day present him some new delicacies made or growing upon his own Territories; yet he would be much less spoken of in Forain Countreys, if *Eberhard* the Wise had not founded that Univetsity, if *Christopher* the Prudent had not projected this Colledge, if *Lewis* the Pious had not built it, if *Frederick* the Magnanimous had not endowed it, if *John Frederick* the Peaceable had not preserved it, and if *Eberhard* the Constant had not raised it to a higher point for the good of the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen of the Empire.

P. Are none admitted into this Colledge but persons of quality?

G. This Colledge would not be illustrious, if all sorts might be promiscuously received into it: And these Princes having erected it for the education of persons of noble extraction, they have thought it convenient to exclude those that are not Gentlemen born; to the end that whilest there is none there but such as are obliged to aspire unto an eminent vertue, and that have worthy Predecessors to imitate, there

may

may be nothing seen but such examples as may give furtherance to young Lords in the pursuit of that mark they aim at. Nevertheless it is a sufficient qualification for the Masters and Governors of Great men, to be modest, knowing and pious.

P. I would gladly know in what manner they live in this Colledge.

G. Order being the essential principle of all Societies, Laws have been made that appoint every one what he is to do, and what he is to avoid. These Rules are read unto such as enter into the Colledge to remain there, and they all promise and engage before the President of the Colledge to observe them, except great Lords who are not bound to those Laws, but so far forth as decency and the command of their Parents enjoyns them to obey their Governors, who are responsible for them, and are themselves subject to the Laws; which are extreme easie, and require nothing of any man but what he cannot well omit without running counter to honour and honesty.

P. This Institution is worthy of such Princes: But is the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg* so great, that it can maintain this Colledge and the University of *Tubing*, without incommodating the Prince?

G. This Countrey is not so considerable for the extent, as for the goodness of the Soil, and number of Lordships; in which they reckon

63.

63. Cities, 158. great Towns, 645. Villages. 537. Water-mills, and 14. Abbeys of large Revenue. Before the War this Duke could have brought together 24000. men in 24. hours; and at this time he hath a fair Militia aſwell of Horſe as Foot, and many Fortreſſes, whereof *Schoenderf*, *Habſperg*, *Anach* and *Neïf*, are indifferent good, and *Hohenvilz* one of the beſt in *Germany*.

P. Do me the favour to acquaint me further with the Priviledges and Alliances of this Prince.

G. There is no Prince in *Germany* that hath more noble priviledges then this Duke. Not one of his ſubjects can appeal from his Juſtice; And for that purpoſe he hath a Preſidial Court at *Tubing*, compoſed of five Gentlemen, four Doctors, and as many Burgers, who give definitive judgement upon all controverſies that happen between his Highneſs Subjects both in Civil and Criminal cauſes; alſo a Conſiſtory formed of certain Divines, and other grave perſons who are skilful in matters Eccleſiaſtical, and ſuch as have any relation to the Spiritual, as Marriages and Adulteries: He hath other Councels alſo for affairs of State, and of the Exchequor. As to your demand touching the Alliances of this Houſe, I find that anciently, the Males married Marchioneſſes of *Brigau*, Dutcheſſes of *Larnigen*, daughters of Kings of *Poland* and of Emperors, Dutcheſſes of

Bavaria

Bavaria, *Milan*, *Savoy*, and *Cleve*. Since they were Dukes *Eberhard* I. married *Barbara* of *Gonzaga*; *Eberhard* II. *Elizabeth* Marchioness of *Brandenbourg*; *Ulrick*, *Sabina* daughter to *Albert* the Wise, Duke of *Bavaria*; *Christopher*, *Anne Mary* Marchioness of *Brandenbourg*; *Lewis*, *Dorothy Ursula* Marchioness of *Baden*, and *Ursula* Princess *Palatine*; *Frederick* had *Sibyll* Princess of *Anhalt* for the confervatress of his House; *John Frederick* took *Barbara Sophia* Princess Electoral of *Brandenbourg* for an assistant and admirer of his Magnificence; and *Eberhard* III. had *Anne Catherine Rhingraves* for the comfortress of his displeasures in the time of the War, and *Mary Dorothy Sophia* Countess of *Ottingen* for a partner of his felicity in the time of Peace, with whom he lived in such perfect union and harmony, that it seemed as it were a taste upon earth of the life hereafter in Heaven.

P. Hath this Prince no children?

G. He had 14. by his first wife, and hath still nine of them, very sweet lovely persons: The five Princesses speak *French* and dance as if they had been bred at *Paris*: The eldest son *John Frederick* is excellent for horsemanship and at his Weapon; *William Lewis*, *Frederick Charles*, and *Charles Maximilian* are but young, but they carry in their countenances such characters of generosity, as easily per-

swade

swade me they will one day make the vertues of their bravest Ancestors live again.

P. Methinks you are very much addicted to this House, and yet you do not tell me, that one of the younger sons of *Frederick* the Magnanimous had *Weiltingen* and *Brents*; and the youngest of all, *Monbeliard*, *Ericourt*, *Granges*, *Horbourg*, *Richeville*, and their appurtenances, which give him a voice in the Diets of the Empire, and almost all the Nobility in the Franche-County and *Burgundy* hold of him in Fee: Also that this Princes Lands, depending upon the Empire, enjoy the same right that the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg* doth; and that the eldest Son had the Dutchy entire, and left it undivided to his eldest Son.

G. I have elsewhere said, that the right of Primogenitute takes place in this House: And since you are not satisfied with what I have told you hitherto, you ought to know that the four daughters of *Frederick* the Magnanimous were married to *John George* I. Elector of *Saxony*, *John George* Marquis of *Zeguerendorf*, *Frederick* Marquis of *Baden*, and *Francis Julius* Duke of Lower *Saxony*; which are high Alliances. The sons of *Lewis Frederick* Prince of *Monbeliard* are married, the eldest to *Sibyll* Dutchess of *Wirtemberg*, and the younger to *Anne* of *Coligny* Dutchess of *Chastillon*. The younger son of *Julius Frederick* married a Countess of *Aldembourg*, and the eldest a

Dutchess

Dutchess of *Munsterberg*, who brought him a dowry the Principality of *Olz* in *Silesia*. *Ulrick* a younger son of the present Duke was General of the Forain Horse for the Spaniard in *Flanders*, where he took to Wife *Isabell* of *Arenberg* Princess of *Barbanson*; but at present he is General of an Army for the King of *France*. *Frederick* was Major General with great reputation in the Army of *Hesse*: He is at this time married to *Clara Augusta* Dutchess of *Brunswick*. These Princes have two sisters, who whilest the War lasted thinking they could not spend their time better, *Antonietta* learnt the Hebrew and Latin, and *Anne Jane* the Mathematicks, in perfection. And that I may forget nothing that may serve to illustrate the glory of this House, you shall observe (if you please) that *Eberhard* Count of *Wirtemberg* the third of that name, who dyed *May* 16. 1417. had usually at his Court six Princes, seven Counts, five Barons, and threescore and ten Gentlemen.

P. I never heard that a Count had Princes in his Court: But tell me, why doth the House of *Austria* bear the name and Arms of that of *Wirtemberg*?

G. When Duke *Ulrick* was driven out of his Estates in the year 1519. his Enemies sold that Dutchy to the Emperor *Charles* V. and *Ulrick* continued in exile till the year 1534. at which time being assisted by the money

of

of *Francis* I. King of *France*, and the Sword of *Philip Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, he returned into his Countrey, and ſent his Son Duke *Chriſtopher* to *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, who agreed with him at *Cade June* 24. in the ſame year, that the Houſe of *Wirtemberg* ſhould enjoy that Dutchy, holding it in Fee of the Houſe of *Auſtria*: Which was accordingly done, till the year 1599. when by a tranſaction made at *Prague* between the Emperor *Rodolph* II. and *Frederick* I. Duke of *Wirtemberg*, this Dutchy was reduced unto its firſt condition, the Houſe of *Auſtria* only reſerving to it ſelf the name and Arms, and the right of Succeſſion, in caſe it ſurvive all the Males of *Wirtemberg*.

P. Let us ſtep into the Countrey of *Heſſe*, and tell me ſomething of a Houſe to which generoſity ſeems to be natural.

G. I know never a Family in *Germany* more illuſtrious then that of *Heſſe*, whether you conſider its antiquity, or the number of Heroical perſonages it hath produced, or laſtly its Alliances. The Landgrave *George* hath heretofore told me that his Houſe is deſcended from *Charlemagne*; and a little after, when I was at *Caſſel* the late Landgraves of *Heſſe* ſhewed me a Genealogical Table, that deriv'd it from a Collateral branch of that great Emperor, but by the way of Females. I can hardly forbear to explicate the ſame to you at large;

and would do it, if I were not afraid to b troubleſom.

P. I know you could ſhew me that *Gerbu* daughter to *Charles* of *Lorraine* (Unkle by t Fathers ſide to *Lewis* V. King of *France*, wh came in a direct Male line from *Lewis* the *D bonaire*) was married to *Lambert* II. Count *Lovain*, from whom the preſent Landgrav are deſcended by the way of *Henry* V. wh was the firſt of this Family that had the title Landgrave of *Heſſe*: But becauſe I do n queſtion that at all, declare to me how *Hen* got this Landgraveſhip, how his poſteri kept it, who were the moſt illuſtrious Prince of this Houſe, and into how many Branche it is divided at this preſent.

G. You free me from a great deal of pain which yet would not have been unpleaſant t me, for the reſpect I bear to that Houſe. T begin then to anſwer your queſtion, I ſay, that *Henry* of *Brabant* (whoſe predeceſſor had born the name of Counts of *Lovain*, *Hai nault*, *Rhetel*, and *Yvoy*, and of Dukes of *Mo ſelle*, *Lorraine*, and *Brabant*) married *Sophi* Landgraveſs of *Thuringia*, who alſo deſcended from *Charlemagne* by the way of *Lewis Ger manicus* ſecond ſon to *Lewis* the *Debonaire*. This *Henry* made war nine years together upon *Henry* the Illuſtrious Marquis of *Miſnia*, who pretended (as the other did) to the Principalities of *Thuringia* and *Heſſe*: And a laſt

last they came to this agreement, that the one should have *Hesse*, and the other *Thuringia*, upon condition that the surviving Family should inherit both; and this agreement is still in force between the Dukes of *Saxony*, who are Landgraves of *Thuringia*, and our Landgraves of *Hesse*.

P. Wars between kinsmen are usually cruel and long: At what time did this happen?

G. *Henry* of *Brabant* first Landgrave of *Hesse* lived 63. years, and dyed in that of our Lord 1308. He left the succession to his son *Otho*, who was father to *Lewis*, grandfather to *Herman*, and great-grandfather to *Lewis* the peaceable second of that name, and first of his Family that was qualified Count of *Zigenheim* and *Nidda*. This Prince may serve for an example of moderation to posterity; for when the Imperial Dignity was offered him, and he chosen according to the Laws of the Empire in the year 1442. he refused that which many seek after with much hazard, labour and anxiety.

P. The title of Peaceable which this Prince bore, makes me think he feared the power of *Frederick* of *Habspourg*, who took the Scepter which *Lewis* would not accept; and I am perswaded that *Lewis* the Couragious, son to the Peaceable, would rather have canvassed to procure the Imperial Crown, then modestly refused it.

G. It is very likely the Son would not have done as the Father did; and in all probability if that House had accepted the Crown then, it would have held it even to this day: For ever since that time, all the Princes of *Hesse* that have reigned, were worthy to reign. *William* the younger, son to *Lewis* and *Matilda* of *Wirtemberg*, had no less courage nor prudence then his Father; *Philip* the Magnanimous being no more but Landgrave of *Hesse*, gave much trouble, and no less apprehension to the greatest of our Emperors; *William* the beloved son of *Philip*, shewing himself the worthy son of so great a Father, deserved the surname of Wise; *Maurice* was equal to, or greater then any one of his Ancestors; *William* the Constant was a pattern of valour and vertue, and *William* his son cannot but prove a great personage, having had for his Mother and Tetres the most Heroical Lady of this age.

P. The Ancients by representing Occasion bald behind, would teach us to use prudence and not to let slip a present advantage; as *Lewis* Landgrave of *Hesse*, and *Frederick* III. Elector of *Saxony*, who refused the Empire, and repented it too late. But go on, I pray.

G. You must know that *Philip* the Magnanimous had three sons, who were all married and Chiefs of several Branches: *Lewis* and *George* had less of their Fathers estate, then *William* their eldest brother; yet that division

weakened

weakened the Houſe; and a little after, the inheritance of *Lewis* unty'd the knot of kindneſs, and ſowed diſcord between the two other Branches.

P. I would willingly have a more particular account of that miſunderſtanding.

G. The Landgrave *Lewis*, ſon to *Philip*, dyed without iſſue in the year 1604. and appointed his Nephews *Maurice* and *Lewis* to inherit his eſtate by equal portions. Now becauſe one of thoſe heirs was of a different Religion from that profeſſed by the deceaſed Princes Subjects, he added a clauſe in his Will, to deprive that party of the right of Succeſſion that ſhould oblige his Subjects to change their Religion. Notwithſtanding which clauſe, *Maurice* forced the inhabitants of his diviſion to embrace the Reformation of *Calvin*. *Lewis* taking *Maurice* to have forfeited the right he had to the inheritance, complained of the non-obſervance of the Will: Whereupon they took Arbitrators, who judged, that the Clauſe annext to the Teſtament could not deprive *Maurice* of the right he had, as a Prince of the Empire, of obliging his Subjects to follow his Religion. *Lewis* appealed from this Arbitrary ſentence to the Court of the Emperor, where he found more favour, and obtained a Decree that condemned *Maurice*, and an Army that put *Lewis* into poſſeſſion of the lands in queſtion. *Maurice* not being able to withſtand the

Army and the will of the Emperor, gave w
to power: So *Lewis* surnamed the Pious, a
George his son, possest those lands in peace, t
Amelia Elizabeth Mother to *William* VI. h
ving an Army at her command, used it so o
portunely, that she drove *George* out of the l
tigious Territories, and forced him to anoth
Agreement, which was mediated by *Ern*
Duke of *Saxony* in the year 1647.

P. These contentions must needs beget h
tred between the two Houses: But, are they
equal puissance?

G. That of *Cassel* is the elder, hath prec
dence, and more estate then that of *Darmstat*
but they are so far forth equal, that each
them hath a voice in the Assemblies, and n
ther depends in any wise upon the other. Th
are both well allied: *George* Chief of t
Branch of *Darmstadt* is married to the eld
daughter of the late Elector of *Saxony*; h
eldest son, to a daughter of *Frederick* Duke
Holstein; and one of his daughters to *Phil*
Lewis Duke of *Newbourg*. *William* the pres
Prince of *Cassel* hath taken to wife a sister of t
Elector of *Brandenbourg*; and *Williams* eld
sister is married to *Lewis* of *Tremoille*, Du
of *Touars*, Prince of *Tarante*; and the youn
est to *Charles Lewis* Elector Palatine.

P. You have already told me, that *Willia*
VI. was son to *Amelia Elizabeth*, who go
verned his person and estate from the ye
1637

1637. till the Peace; and her Regency was so renowned, and so beneficial to that House, that I think my self obliged to propose this question to you, Whether they do not great wrong to Ladies that esteem them unable to govern a State.

G. I wonder there should be any Philosophers, who dare affirm, that the Female Sex is unworthy to bear the Scepter; since Histories tell us that Ladies have preserved and enlarged the Kingdoms of *Spain*, *England*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Portugal*, and *France*; that the five former never flourished so much as under two *Elizabeths*, *Margaret*, *Christina*, and *Loüyse*; and that the last was freed from the English yoke by *Jane d'Arc*, commonly called the Maid of *Orleans*, preserved in peace under the Regency of *Blanche* of *Castile* Mother to St. *Lewis*, and the bounds thereof advanced under *Anne* of *Austria*, Mother to the incomparable *Lewis* XIV. the present King.

P. You will acknowledge that this Sex is usually weak, inconstant, and faint-hearted; and that it is not able either to ride, or wear armour for the good of the State.

G. It is the opinion of those, who to decry Ladies, tell us, they are naturally inconstant, fearful, and cruel; and when we object the illustrious examples of *Roman*, *Grecian*, *Spanish*, *German*, and *French* Ladies, they say, they are rare things, and such as ought not to be

drawn into consequence; and that for one that hath administred the State well, there be two that have abused their authority. I confess they are not all sufficiently qualified to rule; but I deny also that all men are so: And I may confidently say, that never any King of *England* was better obeyed then Queen *Elizabeth*, that the bravest *Swedish* Commanders freely acknowledged, their victories proceeded as much from the happy *Genius* of their Queen as from their own valour; that *Portugal* owes its deliverance to *Loyse de Guſman*, who governs it still with admirable prudence; that *Elizabeth* of *France* wife to *Philip* IV. would have re-established the affairs of *Spain*, if the impertinency of a Favourite had not held her at distance from the Counsels of the King her husband; that the *Hessians* were never better ruled then by *Amelia Elizabeth*, and that no Prince was ever more moderate in his prosperity, nor more constant in adversity then this matchless Lady. One example shall make you confess this truth. In the year 1647. her Army besieged *Paderborne*, and was forced to raise the siege with loss. The news came to her while she sate at Table; she read the Letter, and told me, We have ill news, my Troops have been worsted, and forced to leave a place which it concerned me very much to have taken: And so sate out her Meal without the least show of any alteration.

P. No

P. No more would a great man be much moved at such a loss.

G. I know *Philip* II. seemed not to be concerned, when he heard of the victory won at *Lepanto*, and of the losing of a Fleet which he thought Invincible; but that Prince was singular in generosity and constancy. And to prove that Ladies are worthy to bear the Scepter, it is enough that we find some comparable to the most excellent of men.

P. I submit to your reason; but withal I think there are not many *Amelia Elizabeths* to be found.

G. There are but few indeed, because the malice or envy of men keeps them off from showing their ability, and making their prudence and generosity admired. Nay, I make no question, but, if there were as many Ladies as there be Princes upon the Throne, we should often find Female accomplishments superior to ours, enough to make Philosophers recant, and acknowledging their error to confess, that Ladies are as much, if not more excellent then men.

P. I perceive you love that beautiful Sex, and understand their worth; and if they had no greater enemies then you, they should have the honour that is due to them. I shall always be of the same opinion, and if ten thousand Philosophers would perswade me the contrary, I should not forbear to say and believe, that there

there be many Ladies worthy to govern, and would be many more, if they were instructed and brought up to great affairs from their youth.

The end of the Fourth Dialogue.

Dialogue V.

Of the same Secular Princes.

P. I Would gladly have heard something of the Marquisses of *Baden* in the preceding Dialogue, because they take their turns with the other Princes you last mentioned: But I hope there is nothing lost.

G. These Princes, as well as all that are Ancient, hear many men speak of the beginning of their House, but few that speak truth. I do not desire to confute opinions contrary to mine, nor to entertain you long upon such a subject: It is enough for me to tell you what I have learnt from those Marquisses themselves, who have graciously communicated to me what they have drawn out of their own Records. But before we go any further, I desire you to take notice, that the House of *Hesse* being divided

vided into two Branches, whereof one follows *Luthers* Reformation, and the other *Calvins*; each of them hath one Prince that hath withdrawn himself to the Church of *Rome*: *Frederick* brother to the Landgrave *George* of *Darmſtadt*, & grand Prior of the Order of *Malta* in *Germany*; and *Erneſt* Unkle by the Fathers ſide to the Landgrave *William* of *Caſſel*, who making as if he would diſpute with the ableſt men of the two Religions permitted by the Laws of the Empire, hath embraced that of *Rome*, together with his Wife, who is of the Houſe of *Solmes*.

P. I was not ignorant of that change of Religion, which hath made noiſe enough throughout all *Germany*. As for thoſe Writers that fetch what they deliver concerning the antiquity of Houſes, either out of their own brain, or from weak conjectures, I think they are much to blame: For my part, I conceive there is no better way to know from what ſource Houſes are derived, then by the Charters and Epitaphs of the Houſes themſelves.

G. There are ſome that think Princes flatter themſelves in this point, and report fables for truths, on purpoſe to appear more illuſtrious and more ancient. And I am verily perſwaded, that many endeavour to uſurp the Eſtates of others by vain and falſe Genealogies; nay, that our nature cannot endure any that doth not flatter it: On the other ſide I cannot deny,

but

but that Princes themſelves, or their learned ſervants, who have the cuſtody of their Records, muſt know the truth of their beginning and off-ſpring better then any other perſon. Now the Marquiſs *George Frederick* having cauſed his own to be ſearcht out with great care, the Prince his Son communicated the ſame to me ſuch as I here repreſent it unto you.

P. The truth is but one, pure, ſimple, and without mixture: Wherefore I pray tell me what you know, not regarding the device of ſome that would draw this Houſe from that of the *Urſins*, and others from that of *Della Scala* or the *Scaligers*; ſome labour to ſhow that *Baden* and *Hochberg* were two different Families, and others that they are but one.

G. They that would have this Houſe come out of *Italy*, ſay that *Frederick Barbaroſſa* brought *Herman* Marquiſs of *Verona* from thence, and gave him the Marquiſate of *Hochberg*: which cannot be, ſeeing in the time of the Emperor *Conrade* II. there were already Marquiſſes at *Baden* and at *Hochberg*. It is therefore more probable, that *Berchtold* I. having two ſons, divided his Eſtates between them, giving the greateſt part thereof to his eldeſt ſon *Berchtold* II. with the title of Duke of *Zeringuen*, and a good ſhare to *Herman* his younger ſon, with the title of Marquiſs. This *Herman* II. having married *Judith* inheritrice of *Baden*, gave occaſion to *Herman* III. whom

he

he had by her, to ſtyle himſelf Marquiſs of *Baden*, to take his Mothers Arms, and tranſmit them to his poſterity, as he did. Some while after, the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa* having ruined *Milan*, and chaſtiſed *Lombardy*, put German garriſons in all the ſtrong places, and left *Herman* IV. Governor of *Verona*. When that Prince came back into *Germany*, he was called Marquiſs of *Verona* in memory of that Expedition; and that name hath occaſioned the miſtake of thoſe who write that the Marquiſſes of *Baden* are deſcended from them of *Verona*.

P. Then you hold it for certain, that the Marquiſſes of *Baden* are deſcended neither from the *Gothick* Kings, nor from the *Scaligers*, nor the *Urſins*, nor from any Marquiſſes of *Verona* whatſoever; but from the ancient Counts of *Vindoniſſa* and *Altembourg*, who flouriſhed a long time in *Swiſſerland*: from whom alſo the Dukes of *Zeringuen* and *Tek*, the Counts of *Habſpourg* and the Archdukes derive their original.

G. That is my opinion; and I believe it as true, as it is certain that *Herman* Marquiſs of *Baden* founded a Monaſtery in his Village of *Backenan*, *A. D.* 1116. which *Bruno* Biſhop of *Spire* confirmed at the requeſt of the ſaid *Herman* 1122. and which *Herman* the younger his ſon enriched with many endowments in the time of *Lotharius* II. or *Conrade* III. *A. D.* 1145.

All

All which things were done by Marquiſſes of *Baden* (before there were any, according to the opinion of my Adverſaries) and by the Deſcendents of *Herman* ſon to *Berchtold* Duke of *Zeringuen*.

P. I believe your reaſons unanſwerable, and am abſolutely perſwaded by them, that the Marquiſſes of *Baden* did not come out of *Italy*. It lies upon you now to prove, that theſe Princes and thoſe of *Hochberg* were both of the ſame Houſe.

G. On St. *Bartholomews* day 1490. *Chriſtopher* Marquiſs of *Baden* and *Philip* Marquiſs of *Hochberg* made an agreement, and a reciprocal Teſtament, whereby one of the Houſes ſurviving the other was to be heir thereof, becauſe they both iſſued out of the ſame ſtock, and bore the ſame Arms, or with very little difference. That Will and Teſtament was confirmed by the Emperor *Maximilian* I. *A.D.* 1499. which is ſufficient (methinks) to prove, that thoſe Houſes were but Branches from one and the ſame root.

P. I am ſatisfied with what you have told me concerning the unity and deſcendance of the Houſes of *Baden* and *Hochberg*. Let us now ſee into how many Branches that of *Baden* is at preſent divided.

G. This Houſe, which had been ſevered into two ever ſince the year 1200. was re-united after the death of *Philip* the laſt of the *Hochbergian*

bergian Branch, by vertue of that interchangeable Teſtament made by him and *Chriſtopher*, as we mentioned before. Now *Chriſtopher* inheriting the lands of *Philip A. D.* 1503. poſſeſſed the two Marquiſates till the year 1515. wherein he dyed; and his lands were parted between *Bernard* and *Erneſt* his children, who are the Heads of the two principal Branches into which this Houſe is divided at this time.

P. Make a little larger relation of this matter, and ſhow me how the Marquiſſes of *Baden* come from *Bernard*, and thoſe of *Dourlach* from *Erneſt*, both ſons to *Chriſtopher*, who inherited the entire Eſtate of *Philip* Marquiſs of *Hochberg*, except the County of *Newchaſtel* in *Swiſſerland*; which *Jane*, daughter to the forementioned *Philip*, brought in Dowry to *Lewis* of *Orleans*, and it is ſtill in the hands of *Henry* Duke of *Longueville* his Nephews ſon.

G. By the diviſion thus made between thoſe two brethren, *Bernard* had *Baden* with its appurtenances: He married *Frances* Counteſs of *Luxembourg*, by whom he had *Chriſtopher*, who (after *Philibert* his elder brother was ſlain at the Battel of *Moncontour*) took upon him the government of his Eſtate. That Prince married *Cecily* daughter to *Guſtavus* firſt of that name and of his Family, King of *Sweden*: among other children he begat *Edward Fortunatus* Father to *William*, preſent Marquiſs of *Baden*, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and Judge of

of the Imperial Chamber at *Spire*. *William* hath had two Wives, and many children: by the first, who was born Princess of *Hohenzolleren*, he hath yet living *Leopold William*, who serves the Emperor with great zeal and reputation; *Herman*, Canon of *Collen*, with some others, who are yet but young; and *Ferdinand Maximilian* the eldest, who knowing that *Mary* daughter to *Amedeus* IX. Duke of *Savoy* had been married into his House, was desirous to renew that alliance, and to that purpose married *Loüyse* of *Savoy* daughter to *Thomas* Prince of *Carignan A. D.* 1653. by whom he hath one son. *Herman* brother to *William* makes a Branch apart, and hath children of both sexes marriageable.

P. Hath not this Prince *Herman* some lands in the Countrey of *Luxembourg*, and a son Canon of *Collen*?

G. Yes; *Ernest*, brother to *Bernard*, and son to *Christopher*, who had for his share the Marquisates of *Hochberg*, *Pfortzen*, *Weimberg*, *Baden*, *Usslser*, and *Rhetel*, took to wife *Elizabeth* daughter to *Frederick* V. Marquis of *Brandenbourg*: His son *Charles* married *Anne* daughter to *Robert* Prince Palatine, by whom he had many children, who all died young, except *George Frederick*: He was not to be paralleled for valour and magnanimity, yet was beaten at *Wimpfen* by the misfortune of his powder taking fire while the Battel was fighting,

fighting, which he thereupon loſt when he was half-aſſured of the victory. This Prince had two Wives, *Juliana Urſula* daughter to the Rhingrave *Frederick*, and *Agatha* daughter to *George* Count of *Erbach*. Of the latter there remain but *Anne* and *Elizabeth*, Princeſſes no leſs knowing then vertuous; and of the former (by whom he had 15. children) *Catherine Urſula*, *Anne Amelia*, and *Sibyll Magdalen*, who are thus married; the firſt to *Otho* eldeſt ſon to the Landgrave *Maurice*, and the other two to two Counts of *Naſſau Sarbruck*: *Erneſtine* is for her rare vertue and admirable knowledge worthy of an eminent fortune; and *Frederick* their eldeſt brother, the preſent Prince of *Dourlach*, an incomparable man for his skill in Mathematicks and Opticks, hath had five Wives and many children, the eldeſt whereof called by his Fathers name hath married *Chriſtina Magdalen*, the worthy ſiſter of *Charles Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*; and daughter to *John Caſimir* Prince Palatine of *Deux-ponts*, who in his life-time knew better then any man how to get a powerful aſcendent over the hearts of all that looked upon him. He hath very fine children by her both for outward features and inward faculties: The youngeſt called *Charlemagne* is eminent for vertue, merit, and military experience; he is married to *Mary Juliana* Counteſs of *Hohenloch*, and hath by her one ſon who will equal his courage; and one daugh-

ter who will not be inferior to her Mother in comelyneſs of body and ſincerity of heart. *Guſtavus Adolph* a younger brother of this Houſe, is ſerving his apprentiſhip in the ſchool of the King of *Sweden*, and of his brethren, whom he will equal or ſurpaſs, if God give him life and health, as I wiſh him.

P. You tell me nothing of the controverſie between theſe two Branches, nor of the ſentence which *Edward Fortunatus* his Succeſſor obtained againſt the Marquis *George Frederick* and his ſon.

G. It is not good to rub old ſores that are skin'd over, nor to ſpeak of differences that are ſilenced by a determination, for fear of grieving thoſe perſons whom we reſpect. It is ſufficient for you to know that theſe Princes are good friends, that they have forgotten all that is paſt, and endeavour to oblige one another to the uttermoſt of their power. The branch of *Baden* is Catholique, that of *Dourlach* Lutheran, and both zealous in their Religion; but that zeal will not hinder them from being kind to one another as to their perſons, though their intereſt keep them aſunder as to their party. Each branch hath one voice in the Aſſemblies; and the Marquis *Frederick* ſhall have precedence there as long as he lives, but after his death the two Branches ſhall take their turns, that is, ſhall precede alternatively, according to the reſolution made at *Munſter* by the laſt Treaty of Peace.

P. Since

P. Since we have ſpoken of Houſes in *Germany* that take their turns ſucceſſively, do me the favour to tell me the manner how that alternation is obſerved.

G. You may ſee in this figure how they ſit for ten dayes together, after which they begin again, and continue as they were before; every letter denoting the name of one of the five Houſes that take their turns.

P	M	W	H	B
M	W	B	P	H
W	H	B	P	M
H	W	M	P	B
B	P	H	M	W
P	M	W	B	H
M	P	W	H	B
W	B	H	M	P
H	P	W	B	M
B	W	M	H	P

The five alternating Houſes are,
Pomerania.
Meklebourg.
Wirtemberg.
Heſſe.
Baden.

P. I wonder the Houſes of *Saxon Lawembourg* and *Anhalt* do not precede theſe five, or

at leaſt alternate with them, ſeeing they have had the Electorſhips of *Saxony* and *Brandenbourg* at the ſame time.

G. The Houſes you laſt mentioned are ſo far from preceding thoſe five, that they follow that of *Holſtein*, which comes behind the ſaid five. 'Tis not that thoſe two Houſes are not ancient; on the contrary, I think their antiquity and greatneſs hath done them wrong: for as we have elſewhere ſeen, the Emperor *Sigiſmond* deprived them of the Electoral Dignity, to give it to the Marquis of *Miſnia* and the Burgrave of *Nuremberg*; which ſo mortified thoſe Princes, that it made them neglect to appear in the Aſſemblies, and gave opportunity to others to take their place.

P. I have read that thoſe Princes kept the title of Elector long after they had loſt the Electoral Dignity; and when they could not have place in the Electoral Colledge, they cared but little for taking it among the Princes. But tell me ſomething of the Houſe of *Holſtein*, before we ſpeak more fully of the other two.

G. I think I have told you already, that the Houſe of *Holſtein* and that of *Oldembourg* are but one; that it was derived from *Witikind* of *Saxony*; and that after the death of *Chriſtopher* III. King of *Denmark*, the *Danes* choſe *Chriſtian* Count of *Oldembourg* into his place, at the intreaty of *Adolph* Duke of *Schleswick* his Unkle by the Mothers ſide, who leaving

no

no issue behind him, made this Nephew of his heir of a great part of the *Cimbrick Chersonese*: and from that *Christian* it is, that all the Princes are descended, who have Reigned in *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Schleswick*, and *Holstein*, ever since that time.

P. The Kingdom of *Sweden* having been sever'd from that of *Denmark* under the Reign of the Princes of the House of *Oldembourg*, it is fit you shew me when and how that came to pass.

G. I shall do it with all my heart, both because you desire it, and because I shall be glad (in doing that) to give some testimony of my gratitude to those Princes, who have almost all of them obliged me. You must know then, that *Christian* the first of that name, being 23. years of age, was chosen King of *Denmark* *A. D.* 1448. A year after, he married *Dorothy* daughter to *John* Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, and widow to *Christopher* the last King of *Denmark*. That Prince having Reigned happily 33. years in *Denmark*, 32. in *Norway*, and 25. in *Sweden*, dyed afterwards *A. D.* 1482, leaving two sons, who succeeded him in this manner; *John* his eldest was King of those three Kingdoms after his Father, and gave his brother *Frederick* the moyety of his Hereditary lands: Then having reigned peaceably, he dyed *A. D.* 1513. leaving his son *Christian* II. to be his Successor. That Prince was born

A. D. 1481. and married *Iſabel* ſiſter to the Emperor *Charles* V. by whom he had *Dorothy* Electoreſs of *Brandenbourg*; *Chriſtina* Dutcheſs of *Milan*, and afterwards of *Lorraine*, and *John*, who dyed bearing arms under the Emperor *Charles* his Unkle by the Mothers ſide, in the year 1532. *Chriſtiern* otherwiſe *Chriſtian* II. forſook the way of his Father and Grandfather, and became ſo cruel a Tyrant, that the *Swedes* drove him out of their Countrey, and placed upon the Throne *Guſtavus Vaſe*, ſon to *Erick* a *Swediſh* Knight, *A. D.* 1523. And nine years after the *Danes* caſt him in priſon, where he ended his dayes in five more.

P. Men ſeem to be of a worſe condition then beaſts; inaſmuch as Eagles do not ingender Pigeons, nor Lions Stags; yet Heroical perſons rarely beget their like. The greateſt men are ſubject to the misfortune of ſeeing their children unworthy to ſucceed them. But what came to paſs after the impriſonment of *Chriſtiern*?

G. We will ſpeak in another place of what followed in *Sweden*. In *Denmark* the Nobility had an honourable memory and high eſteem of the virtues of *Chriſtian* I. and of *John*: wherefore inſtead of the Tyrant, who was priſoner at *Sunderbourg*, they placed *Frederick* his Unkle by the Fathers ſide upon the Throne, who was very aged, and yet he introduced the Doctrine of *Luther* into *Denmark* and his own

own hereditary Principalities. That *Frederick* was the first Duke of *Holstein*, which is held in Fee of the Empire, as *Schleswick* is of *Denmark*; but neither he, nor his son *Christian* III. durst send any body to the Diets, fearing they should be but ill used for having assumed the place of a brother-in-law to two Emperors.

P. It may be those Princes not daring to send their Deputies to the Diets, lost the Rank they held there.

G. *Frederick* I. of that name King of *Denmark*, was Duke of *Holstein* before he came to the Crown; yet I cannot tell whether he had taken place in the Assemblies of the Empire. But to pursue the discourse we have begun, that Prince left two sons, the elder of whom was King after him by the name of *Christian* III. and *Adolph* his younger son, Duke of *Holstein*. They had both children, from whom all the Princes of this House are descended: For *Christian* was Father to King *Frederick* II. and to *John* the younger; and *Adolph*, to *John Adolph*, and to *Frederick* Archbishop of *Bremen* and Bishop of *Lubeck*.

P. I pray draw out this Genealogy a little more at length.

G. *Frederick* II. husband to *Sophia*, daughter to *Ulrick* Duke of *Meklebourg*, had one son and four daughters, very worthy of your knowledge: For as much as *Elizabeth* the eldest

was married to *Henry Julius* Duke of *Brunswick*, *Anne* to *James* VI. King of *Scotland*, who afterwards got all Great *Britain* by the death and Testament of *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*; *Augusta*, to *John Adolph* Duke of *Holstein*; and *Hedwig*, to *Christian* II. Elector of *Saxony*. His Son and Successor to the Crown, was *Christian* IV. a great King both in time of peace and war. That Prince, who admiring the worth of *Henry* the Great King of *France*, made him his pattern in every thing, and had at the least as many sons as he, as well Legitimate as Natural: But there remains no more of the lawfully begotten then his Successor *Frederick* III. who hath already many children, and may have more.

P. This King is esteemed throughout all *Europe*, for a knowing Prince, and one that sets a value upon good men: Let us see the Descendents of *John* the younger.

G. That Prince was even goodness it self, and God blessed him exceedingly; for he had 23. children by *Elizabeth* Dutchess of *Brunswick* and *Agnes Hedwig* Princess of *Anhalt*, his wives. Two of those Princes dyed in *Hungary*, one at the illustrious Colledge of *Tubing*; two departed in their infancy, and four lived to be married, who are fathers of many Lords, either residing at *Sunderbourg*, *Northourg*, *Glugsbourg*, and *Plone*, or else seeking their fortune in the Wars. The daughters were thus marri-

married; the eldeſt, to a Duke of *Lignitz*; three of the youngeſt, to three Dukes of *Pomerania*; *Anne Sabina*, to a Duke of *Wirtemberg*; *Eleonor Sophia*, to a Prince of *Anhalt*; and *Margaret*, to *John* Count of *Naſſau*. The reſt dyed in their Cradle, except *Eleonor*, who is ſtill unmarried, and leads an exemplary life; ſhe is 67. years old, yet very lovely for her age, and worthy to be viſited by Kings; for ſhe hath a marvellous way of entertaining thoſe Princes and Ladies that do her the honour to ſee her: And I can aſſure you, I never ſaw better ſweet-meats ſerved any where then at her houſe, nor ſtrangers received with greater civility.

P. Tell me, I pray, a little more particularly, who are the Deſcendents of *John* the younger brother to King *Frederick* II.

G. *Alexander* his eldeſt ſon had ſix ſons, whereof the eldeſt married a Counteſs of *Delmenhorſt*, and at his death left one ſon and two daughters by her: *Frederick*, *Philip*, and *Joachim Erneſt*, brethren to *Alexander*, are yet living; the firſt hath three ſons, and as many daughters; the ſecond hath but two ſons alive, five Princeſſes married, and one to marry; the third hath four Princes, two whereof have command in the King of *Spains* ſervice, and three Princeſſes ſtill maids, all beautiful and witty, and brought up in the School of a Father inferior to none in the Empire for prudence,

dence, and of a Mother that hath but few equals in all kind of vertues.

P. Do not forget the Descendents of *Adolph* younger brother to *Christian* III. of that name.

G. *Adolph* had many sons that dyed young, one that was Archbishop of *Bremen*; and *John Adolph* his eldest married *Augusta* daughter to *Frederick* II. King of *Denmark*. These two had issue, *John* Bishop of *Lubeck*, a comely and liberal Prince, who dying left his son *John Augustus* still very young, but pretty, and exceeding hopeful: *Frederick* this Bishops elder brother hath the moyety of the Dutchies of *Schleswick*, *Holstein*, *Stormar*, and *Dithmarsh*; and takes turns with the King of *Denmark* in the administration of Justice, in having place and voice in the Assemblies of the Empire, and in all other Rights of Regality. This Prince, great in knowledge and magnanimity, hath for a partner in his bed and felicity, *Mary Elizabeth* daughter to *John George* Elector of *Saxony*, by whom he hath still living three sons, and five daughters, four whereof are married, to *John* Prince of *Anhalt*, *Gustavus Adolph* Duke of *Meklebourg*, *Lewis* Landgrave of *Darmstadt*, and *Charles Gustavus* King of *Sweden*: And all these Princesses have children.

P. If promises be debts, you are bound to tell me to whom the other Princesses of this House are married.

G. *Eliza-*

G. *Elizabeth Juliana*, daughter to *Frederick* who resides at *Nortbourg*, married *Antony Ulrick* Duke of *Brunswick A. D.* 1656. Her Cousins, daughters to *Philip*, are thus married; *Mary Elizabeth*, to *George Albert* Marquiss of *Brandenbourg*; *Augusta* to *Ernest Gunther* Duke of *Holstein*; *Christina*, to *Christian* Duke of *Saxony*; and *Dorothy*, to *Christian Lewis* Duke of *Lunebourg*: *Hedwig* is still to marry; and *Sophia Hedwig* dyed after she had born two children to her husband *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*.

P. Doth the whole Countrey of *Schleswick*, *Holstein*, and their appurtenances, yield a great Revenue?

G. All these Dutchies together make up above 7000. Crowns of yearly Rent: And although a great part of the Countrey be taken up in Lakes and Forests, yet it abounds with all things, by reason of the Ocean and Baltick Seas that make many Harbors there. There come out of *Jutland* above 12000. head of Cattle every year, and a great number of Horses, which are to be brought into the Castle of *Gottorf*, and if his Highness will have any of them, he may take them at 18. Rix-dollars a piece. The Dutchy of *Holstein* contains 8000. Ploughs, and yet it contributes

I would in good manners adde one Cypher more, and make it 70000, lest the Estates of many private English Gentlemen should exceed the Revenue of these Dutchies.

no

no more then the City of *Lubeck* to the necessities of the Empire: The peasants there are slaves; and the Nobility, rich, ambitious and valiant, as much as any in Europe.

P. I have heard you say, you have drunk so good *Spanish* Wine at *Gottorf*, *Plone*, *Redwisch*, and *Eutin*, that I am perswaded the remembrance thereof hath made you stay so long in *Holstein*. Yet you must come from thence, and see whether the *Romeldenph* of *Ratzebourg*, and the Beer of *Zerbst* will be able to keep you at the houses of the Dukes of *Saxony*, and the Princes of *Anhalt*.

G. If you would give me leave to entertain you at large about the generosity of the Princes of *Holstein*, we would speak of the horses, rings, and other gentile presents that were offered me at *Gottorf*, *Plone*, *Redwisch*, and *Eutin*: but since we must pass into the Dutchy of *Lawembourg*, and into the Principality of *Anhalt*, I shall tell you, that the Duke *Augustus*, and the Prince *Christian*, have by their favours sufficiently obliged me to be a particular servant to their House, which hath at the same time afforded Electors both of *Saxony* and *Brandenbourg*.

P. I shall be glad to know when and how those Princes got and lost those Electorships, with the antiquity of their Houses, their Titles, their Alliances, their Religion, the number of the Branches whereinto they are divided, and

other

other things that you ſhall judge requiſite for my inſtruction.

G. No man denies but that theſe Houſes ſprung out of one and the ſame root, and that they are reckoned amongſt the ancienteſt in Chriſtendom; but I hold it a vanity to enquire for a deſcent from Father to Son ever ſince *Adams* time to ours; becauſe the Ancients were more ſtudious to deſerve an immortal glory, then to ſeek for Writers to tranſmit the ſame to poſterity. The Author of the Genealogical Tables which the Prince *Auguſtus* gave me at *Pleskau* in the year 1650. affirms, that theſe Princes were Kings, Dukes, and Generals of the *Saxons*, even before the coming of Chriſt, and ſets down for Head of this Family *Berenthobald*, who in the quality of King led the *Saxons* to the War againſt *Hermanford* King of *Thuringia*, A. *D.* 524. *Limnæus* goes higher, ſaying they come from *Aſcana* ſon to *Gomer*, Nephew to *Iaphet Noahs* ſon. However it be, this Houſe is extremely ancient, it being above 1000. years ſince *Berenthobald* II. and III. were Generals of the *Saxons* againſt *Clovis* II. and *Dagobert* Kings of *France*, and ſince *Clovis* III. King of *France* married *Batildis* daughter to *Baranger*, a Princeſs of this Houſe. All which things make it evident, that this Family was come to full growth before many very noble ones were produced.

P. Seeing thoſe Princes were Kings, or Dukes

Dukes of the *Saxons*, how comes it to pass that they kept not that Dignity?

G. Those titles were not always Hereditary. Anciently the *Saxons*, and many other people chose a Duke or a King, when they stood in need of one for the War; otherwise their State was Aristocratical, and Dignities descended not to their heirs. In the days of *Charlemagne* *Witikind* Head of the *Saxons* had *Aribo Berarger* (his Son or Brother-in-law) for his Lieutenant General: And when they were vanquished by the valour of *Charles*, and reconciled to him by the mediation of *Henry* Count of *Henneberg*, *Charlemagne* honored *Witikind* with the quality of Duke, and *Aribo Berarger* with that of Count of *Ascania*, *Ballenstet*, and *Hircinia*, to them and their posterity. When they were dead, the Descendents of that House became Christians, and the Emperor was Godfather to *Charles*, Father to *Poppo*, who took to wife *Syndovine* daughter to *Lewis* the *Debonaire* Emperor and King of *France*; from whom all the Princes of this House are propagated.

P. This indeed is a great alliance; but tell me how they came to be Dukes of *Saxony* and Marquisses of *Brandenbourg*.

G. *Otho* the Great Count of *Ascania*, *Ballenstet*, and *Wolpe*, having married *Hilica* daughter to *Magnus* Duke of *Saxony*, had by her *Albertus Ursus*, who by the favour of the Emperor

Emperor *Conrade* III. was made Marquiſs and Elector of *Brandenbourg*, the Houſe of *Stade* being extinguiſhed, which had enjoyed that Marquiſate a long time. A little after, *Henry Le* Duke of *Saxony* and *Brunſwick* having diſobliged the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, was degraded from his Dignity, and the ſame given to *Bernard* ſon to *Albertus Urſus* in the Diet of *Wirshourg* 1169. which dignity continued in his Family till the year 1423. as that of Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg* did till 1417.

P. Do not Princes offend againſt the maximes of true Politicks, when they make their Subjects too great?

G. *Theodeſius* Duke of *Braganſa* and the richeſt Lord in *Portugal*, being diſſatisfied with *Philip* III. his Soverain, becauſe he would not ſuffer the Duke to walk equal by his ſide, abſented himſelf from Court; and the Kings ſervants foreſeeing what danger there might be, to let a perſon go away diſcontented that had ſo great an eſtate and authority in a Kingdom full of bad humours, entreated his Majeſty to ſatisfie him before he returned from *Caſtile*. The King commanded he ſhould be brought to him; the Duke came, and being at Court, the King with an extraordinary ſweetneſs ſaid to him, *Pedid duque*, Ask what you would have, my Lord: the Duke, whoſe heart was ſwelled up with his riches, anſwered, *Senor, los mayores de vuestra Majestad, que tambien han ſido*

los

los mios, hizieron tantas mercedes a mi casa, que no me queda nada que pedir; Sir, your Majesties Ancestors, who were mine also, have bestowed so many favours and bounties upon my House, that there remains nothing for me to ask. Every body was surprized at this discourse: For although it be honorable for the Sea to communicate it self through the rivers, and for the Sovetain to aggrandize his best deserving Subjects; yet the Sea ought not to cover all the earth, nor the King to diffuse his Royal graces too prodigally upon a Subject. Otherwise the rivers will become Sea, and the servant, Master; which cannot but prove very prejudicial. As then the Planets would have but little regard to the Sun, if they had no need of his light; nor the servant to his Master, if he could do him no more good: So Great men ought to be very circumspect in the distribution of their favours, if they would not lose that honour and respect which their Inferiors give them.

P. There are few Houses in *Germany* that have so long possessed two Secular Electorships at a time, as this hath done. Let us see how it lost them.

G *Otho* and *Bernard*, sons to *Albertus Ursus*, divided this House into two Branches. The first was Elector of *Brandenbourg*, and the latter of *Saxony*, who fixed himself at *Wittemberg*, and took for his principal distinctive

Coat,

Coat, a Bend Fleury Vert on a Field Barry or and Sable. There have been 23. Electors of *Brandenbourg* descended from *Otho*, whereof the last was *John* IV. of that name. From *Bernard* there came in a direct Male line the Dukes of Lower *Saxony* and the Princes of *Anhalt*; the first by the way of *Albert* I. of that name, and *Helen* daughter to the Emperor *Otho* IV. and the second by the way of *Henry* to whom the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa* gave the title of Prince of *Anhalt*. There have been 8. Electors of *Saxony* of this Family: The last was *Albert* II. after whom the Emperor *Sigismund* preferred *Frederick* the Warlike Marquis of *Misnia* before *Erick* V. *Alberts* Cousin and lawful Successor; to teach us, that all things under the Sun are flitting and transitory, and that the greatest Houses may be humbled and brought low.

P. Hath a Soverain any power to take Principalities from one House and transfer them unto another?

G. A King gives account of his actions to none but God, and can do almost all that he will; he ought nevertheless to act equitably, and not to plunge men of courage into despair, then which nothing is more dangerous. They that have lost their estate, think they have nothing more to lose, and are capable of making the greatest repent of the wrongs they have done them. The Soverain then may take back the

benefits he beſtowed, when he that received them is become altogether unworthy of them. But before he come to that extremity, he ſhould endeavour to reduce them unto their duty; and having tryed all fair means, he muſt be very careful that he do not ſaintly and looſely execute the reſolutions that he hath generouſly taken; nor raſhly undertake a great action, which prudence will afterwards perſwade him to abandon. A Prince ſhould think ſeriouſly of a thing before he enters upon it; but having begun, he ſhould carry it through: For there is nothing ſo repugnant to the of authority Kings, as to act by halves; nor any thing that ſo much encourages Subjects to Rebellion, as to ſee that their Maſters are afraid of them.

P. Since the death of *Francis Albert*, who was ſlain by General *Torſtenſon* in *Sileſia*, I hear but little ſpeech of theſe Dukes, which makes me conjecture, there are but few of them left.

G. Though *Francis* II. had ten ſons, ſix whereof were married, yet there remaine but *Iulius Henry*, *Francis Charles*, and *Francis Henry*, brethren, all without hopes of having children; and one ſon of *Iulius Henry* called *Francis Herman*, who probably will have but few, having married his Couſin, who is exceeding weak, and of a ſtature to bear few or no children. This Prince is at preſent in the ſervice of the King of *Sweden* againſt *Poland*.

P. It

P. It were great pity that a Houſe ſo ancient and ſo illuſtrious ſhould totally fail; but if that do come to paſs, who will be the heir of it?

G. The Princes of *Anhalt*, as we have ſeen, come from the ſame ſource; beſides which right, they have that of Confraternity. Now, this Houſe is one of the moſt numerous in the Empire, and becauſe it is equally divided amongſt many, the Princes are not of the richeſt. *Ioachim Erneſt*, who was the only perſon left of the Family, dyed at 50. years of age, *A. D.* 1566. and had 16. children; of whom *Anne Mary* was married to *Ioachim Frederick* Duke of *Lignitz*; *Elizabeth*, to *Ioachim George* Elector of *Brandenbourg*; *Sibyll*, to *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*; *Agnes Hedwig*, to *Auguſtus* Elector of *Saxony*, and after his death to *John* the younger Duke of *Holſtein*; *Dorothy Mary*, to *John* Duke of *Saxon-Weimar*; and *Anne Sophia*, to *Gunther Albert* Count of *Schurtzebourg*. The ſons divided the Principality into four equal ſhares, becauſe *Auguſtus* ſaid he would be content with a Penſion for his life, not intending to marry: But at laſt upon ſecond thoughts he came back into *Germany*, where he married *Sibyll* Counteſs of *Solmes*; and his brethren choſe rather to give him a part of the land, then pay him a Penſion. So *John George* had *Diſſau*, *Chriſtian* reſided at *Berembourg*, *Auguſtus* fixt his abode at *Pleskau*, *Rodolph* at *Zerbſt*,

and *Lewis* at *Cotheim*; and every one them hath children.

P. This way of sharing may bring their House to a very weak condition: But how do they govern their Estate?

G. Being all of equal authority, and one having no power or command over the lands of another, they submit to the eldest of the Family, who hath the direction of affairs, calls the Princes together when there is need of having their advice upon any matter of importance: And as they have but one voice in the Diets, so one of them represents all the rest there. To conclude, these Princes are commonly brave, learned, active, bold, courteous, and obliging. The two *Christians* of *Berenbourg*, father and son, have born arms with honour; *Augustus* hath extracted Soverain remedies out of *Chymistry*; and *Lewis* hath established the society of great Wits, or the Fructifying Company, whereinto there are at this time admitted and enrolled above 20. Princes, and five or 600. Lords, Gentlemen, or Doctors, and other persons of knowledge.

P. There is much talk of this Society, and I have not yet learnt what is the principal aim and intent of it.

G. This Prince having travelled through all *Europe*, and seen that *France* and *Italy* are full of excellent books in the language of the Countrey, whereby Ladies, and Great men who

who by reason of their weighty employments cannot have leisure to learn Forain Languages, have the means to be instructed in all that concerns them, was desirous to introduce the same advantage into *Germany*, and hath succeeded so prosperously in his design, that now the *Virtuosi* of our Countrey cultivate their Mother-tongue, enrich and adorn it, translating all the books that they count worthy of their pains.

P. There are some that undervalue Translations, and endeavour to cast an imputation upon them, as pernicious to the Commonwealth, being causes of lazyness and negligence.

G. I know there be some learned men are sorry that an entrance is opened into the Temple of wisdom through an easier door then Greek and Latin: But notwithstanding their opinion, it is certain that Great men should not be debarred of the knowledge necessary for them, under the specious pretenses, that the Latin and Greek Tongues will be lost in Germany, if men may find Learning in their native Language.

P. If Prince *Lewis* hath been fortunate in this commendable enterprize, his Countrey is greatly obliged to him: For these translations do not forbid any man to look into the Originals, being only for such as have not time to learn the Languages which furnish us

with books. But of what Religion are the Princes of these two Houses?

G. Duke *Francis Herman* and *Iulius Henry* his Father, who are at this time the eldest and ruling Princes of *Saxon-Lawembourg*, are turned Catholiques; the brethren of the forenamed *Iulius Henry* are Protestants, as also the Prince of *Anhalt* residing at *Zerbst*: All the rest are of the Reformed Religion, and very zelous in it. The first sort of these Princes take the title of Dukes of *Saxony*, *Hungary*, and *Westphalia*; the other Princes of *Anhalt* assume that of Counts of *Ascania*, Lords of *Berembourg* and *Zerbst*. *Lawembourg* is a fine place upon the *Elbe*, but the Castle is ruined, and the Duke lives at *Ratzebourg*, though he have nothing there but the Castle, the City belonging to the Duke of *Meklebourg*. The River of *Sala* crosses the Principality of *Anhalt*, which makes it no less beautiful then fruitful: But the Countrey is very little, and the Princes stand in need of a greater estate to exercise the liberality to which they have so strong an inclination.

P. Liberality is the proper vertue of Princes, and I think it were better for a great Lord to be profuse then avaritious.

G Every man should take a true measure of his ability, and give no more then he can well bear. Prodigality hath a semblance of something more noble then avarice hath, and really

really it is leſs odious: nay, they that gain by it, make it paſs for a vertue; but perchance it is more prejudicial to poſterity, and no leſs dangerous then the other extreme. Though a King ſhould give away his whole Kingdom, he would not ſatisfie all that ask, no nor all that think they deſerve much of him. It is then more convenient to give with reaſon, & never to draw ſo near the bottom, but that Great men may alwayes have wherewithal to gratifie perſons of merit; and above all, they ſhould take ſpecial care that their liberality be exerciſed without the oppreſſion of the People, to avoid murmuring which may produce Rebellion.

P. There is no need of making Laws againſt giving too much; Princes are not ſo free, and there are not many of them that want a Tutor or Overſeer in that kind. Let us go forward, if you pleaſe, to that which remains concerning the Princes of the Empire.

G. Seeing we reſerve the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Lorraine*, and the Princes of *Orange*, for another place; we have no more to ſpeak of, but the Princes of *Montbeliard*, *Henneberg*, *Zolleren*, *Aremberg*, and *Eaſt-Frizeland*.

P. Did you not ſay enough of the Princes of *Montbeliard*, when you were diſcourſing of the Dukes of *Wirtemberg*?

G. It is true indeed that the Principality of *Montbeliard* belongs to the Houſe of *Wirtemberg* ever ſince the year 1397. at which time *Eber-*

hard the younger married *Henrietta* heiress of that fair Territory. Yet it is good for you to know, that the present Prince is son to *Lewis Frederick*, grandchild to *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who having had many sons, gave to his youngest the Counties of *Montbeliard* and *Horbourg*, the Soverainty of *Ericourt*, the Lordships of *Blamont*, *Clairval*, *Passevan*, and *Richeville*, with the Barony of *Granges*. This Prince hath Salt-pits and Iron-works that yield him great profit, and a voice in the Assemblies, but hath never a child: His younger brother keeps his residence at *Horbourg*, and is married to *Anne* of *Coligny*, by whom he hath children.

P. It is said that the Prince of *Montbeliard* had heretofore a hundred thousand Rix-dollars yearly Rent. pass we on to those of *Hennenberg*.

G. These Lords have not long had the quality of Prince. Their Family was utterly extinguished in the year 1583. and their Principality past into the power of the Dukes of *Saxony*, by vertue of a Confraternity. The seat of the old Race was at *Esselunguen*, where their Sepulchres are yet to be seen, and many Epitaphs that evidence the grandeur of that illustrious House, which was in great credit in the time of *Charlemagne*.

P. There are few Genealogies to be seen, wherein the Counts of *Hennenberg* have not a place:

place: But since they are all gone, I had rather you should give me an account of those of *Hohenzolleren*.

G. The House of *Hohenzolleren* is a Branch of that of *Brandenbourg*; and so this Prince is Vicar to the great Chamberlain of the Empire, and gives the Emperor water to wash when he eats in Ceremony, if the Elector of *Brandenbourg* be not present. *Ernst Frederick* Count of *Hohenzolleren* was made Prince at the Diet of *Ratisbon* in the year 1623. and all the eldest brethren of his House bear the same quality. The present Prince married the daughter and heiress of the Count *Henry* of *Berg*; his youngest brother is Gentleman of the Chamber to the Emperor, and the middlemost Canon of *Colen*. These Lords have estate enough, and might be rich, yet they are in bad condition for want of order and good husbandry.

P. The Princes of *Hohenzolleren* are of very high extraction, and have a very noble habitation at *Echingen*, where the Castle is magnificent; and *Hohenzolleren* is seated upon the brow of a high hill. I would willingly know how those of *Aremberg* were made Princes of the Empire.

G. These Princes having performed great services to the House of *Austria*, and specially to the King of *Spain*, were advanced to the highest Commands in the Low Countreys, where they were often honoured with the Collar

lar of the Golden Fleece; and at last obtained a place among the Princes of the Empire by the favour of the Emperor *Maximilian* II. Duke *Albert*, son to *Robert* Duke of *Aremberg* and *Claudina* Countess of the *Rhine*, married *Mary* daughter and heiress to *Everard* Prince of *Barbanson*, by whom he hath left *Octavius* (who at this day bears the quality of Prince of *Aremberg*) and *Isabel* married to *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*. This Princess is of incomparable beauty and prudence, and the Prince her brother extremely courteous.

P. Being this House hath its lands and habitations upon the King of *Spains* Territories, you may discourse of it more at large in another place. Let us now see that of *East-Friseland*; and tell me when it obtained the quality of Count, and lastly of Prince.

G. The Counts of *East-Friseland* and those of *Oldenbourg* did always maintain great feuds and emulations between one another till the year 1656. At which time *Antony Gunther* dying without issue lawfully begotten, left the King of *Denmark* and the Duke of *Holstein* for his Successors. And I believe the cause of that mis-understanding might proceed from hence; That *Mary* of *Jever* being married to *Enno* Count of *East-Friseland*, and having children by him, did yet make *John* Count of *Oldenbourg* her heir; and again, that the Counts of *East-Friseland* being less ancient then those of *Olden-*

Oldenbourg, are as rich, as well or better allied then they, and do alſo exerciſe Soverain Juſtice over their Subjects.

P. I know the Counts of *Oldenbourg* are the ancienter: But when did thoſe of *Eaſt-Friſeland* begin?

G. *Ulrick Sirxena*, Lord of *Gietziel* and other lands, was made Count of *Eaſt-Friſeland* by the Emperor *Frederick* III. *A. D.* 1454. That Lord married *Folca*, who brought him in Dowry the Lordſhips of *Eſcui* and *Stetendorf*. Of that marriage came *Edzar* I. of that name Father of *Eno*, who married *Mary* of *Jeuer*, by whom he had *Edzar* II. That Count aſpired higher then his Predeceſſors, and took to wife *Catherine* daughter to *Guſtavus* I. King of *Sweden*, of whom he begat *John* (from whom the Counts of *Ritberg* are deſcended) and *Eno* II. who married *Anne* daughter to *Adolph* Duke of *Holſtein*, by whom he had *Ulrick* husband to *Iuliana* daughter to *Lewis* Landgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*. This Princeſs remains a Widow, and makes it her buſineſs to bring up her children well; of whom *Edzar Ferdinand* is ſtill travelling abroad, *George Chriſtian* is at home with her, and *Eno Lewis* her eldeſt ſon having continued ſome time at the Imperial Court, was there made Counſellor to the Emperor, and Gentleman of his Chamber. Afterward in the year 1653. he was raiſed unto the rank and dignity of Prince by

by the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. at the Diet of *Ratisbon*. This Prince was contracted to *Henrietta* daughter to *Frederick Henry* of *Nassau* Prince of Orange, while they were both children; but the parties not liking one another, the Article of marriage were broken, and *Eno Lewis* married *Iustina Sophia* Countess of *Barly*, *November* 7. 1656. I am told for certain that this Prince hath 150000. Crowns Revenue, and thereby is well enabled to maintain the quality he bears; which is annext to the eldest alone, the other being no more then Counts, and having no part in the Countrey.

P. We are at length arrived to the end of this journey. Let us rest a while, and afterwards we will take a view of the Ecclesiastical Princes.

G. I am content, and shall in the mean time prepare my self to tell you, how the Ecclesiastical Princes live in *Germany*, how many they are, what order of place they observe in the Assemblies, by whom and how they were raised to their dignity, to what Jurisdiction they are subject; and all other necessary things that shall come into my head.

The end of the Fifth Dialogue.

Dialogue VI.

Of the Eccleſiaſtical Princes of the Empire.

P. THe Princes Eccleſiaſtical hold the firſt rank in the Empire, and you place them after the Seculars; but it matters not much, ſince it is neither for want of reſpect, nor of knowing their due place. Well then, let us ſee whether the Empire be as venerable by the Mitres of its Prelates, as it is formidable by the Sword of its Souldiers.

G. There is never a Countrey in Chriſtendom where Prelates have ſo much power as in *Germany*. They are almoſt all Great Princes, and as abſolute over the Temporalty of their Benefices, as a Secular Elector is over his Lands. Theſe riches are now and then miſapplied to bad uſes; and the debauches made by Churchmen, their great Train, the dogs, the horſes they maintain, the Jeſters they keep for their pleaſure, and their diſſolute life, obliged our Predeceſſors to upbraid them with it, and allow us to believe that they gave occaſion to Doctor *Luther* to preach againſt their Doctrine

as

as well as their evil converſation. Yet ſtill it is often ſeen that the ſame Prelate poſſeſſeth two, three, nay a greater number of huge Benefices of the Empire, and ſpends the Revenue thereof without any ſcruple of conſcience in worldly pomp, continual debauches, and other things unworthy of their rank and profeſſion.

P. Theſe Princes give themſelves but little (if at all) to their ſtudies, miſuſing their riches, and think it beneath their greatneſs to preach the word of God, and do other Eccleſiaſtical functions: But they do not all live alike.

G. Whatever is ſpoken againſt ungodly perſons, doth nothing concern the truly religious. There are Prelates of ſundry conditions, and different humors; ſome are voluptuous, and others chaſt; ſome love nothing but dogs and bouffons, others make much of worthy perſons. Heretofore, beſides the three Eccleſiaſtical Electors, there were five Archbiſhops, and thirty Biſhops that had ſeat and voice in the Aſſemblies of the Empire: At this time there are not ſo many, becauſe the Archbiſhopricks of *Magdebourg*, *Bremen*, and *Riga*, and the Biſhopricks of *Halberſtad*, *Minden*, and *Verden*, have been changed into Secular Principalities; as thoſe alſo of *Beſanſon*, *Verdun*, *Metz*, and *Toul*, were diſmembred from the Empire, and inſeparably united to the Lands of *Spain* and *France* by the laſt Treaty of Peace: And thoſe

those of *Valesia*, *Losanna*, and *Chur*, have been abolished by the *Swisses*. So that at present there is none but *Saltzbourg* that holds the rank of Archbishop in the Colledge of the Princes, and about twenty Bishops.

P. The German Church must without question have lost very much by the last Treaty of Peace, where three Archbishopricks and six Bishopricks were Secularized.

G. *Riga* was cut off from the Empire before, and all those other Benefices were in the power of the *Lutherans*, who had no mind to let them slip out of their fingers: And so methinks the generality of the Protestant Princes hath lost more by this Treaty then the German Church; seeing the Princes have now no more means to provide for their younger brethren, as they had before. For in real truth the Elector of *Saxony* had *Magdebourg*, the King of *Denmark Bremen*, and some other Lords the Bishopricks whereof we have last made mention.

P. The King of *Spain* having the Archbishopricks of *Besanson* and *Cambray* in his possession, there is little likelyhood that those Archbishops should come to the Diets of the Empire.

G. I do not know whether those Prelates have lost the right they had to sit in the Assemblies of the Empire; but it is certain that *Cambray* doth not challenge the place of an Archbishoprick there, though it have gotten that name

name amongst the Prelates of the Low Countreys by the augmentation of Bishopricks in *Flanders*, which King *Philip* II. made in the beginning of his Reign. That Prelate keeps his ancient title, and always qualifies himself Duke of *Cambray*, Count of *Cambresis*, and Prince of the sacred Empire. The Bishops of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, do also bear the title of Princes of the Empire, though they neither send any more to the Diets, nor have the same power which formerly they had.

P. There being so many Lutheran Bishopricks converted into a Secular State, I do not think the Protestants have many in their possession.

G. They have none but *Lubeck*, which belongs to the House of *Holstein* ever since the year 1547. when *Balthasar* of *Rantzau* died. When I was in that Countrey, *John* Duke of *Schleswick* and *Holstein* was Bishop thereof, and laid out the Revenue of his Benefice in doing good to the poor, and maintaining Gentlemen that had not means to raise themselves at their own charge. That Prince dyed *A. D.* 1650. and had one of his brothers sons for his Successor, young in years, but very hopeful. This Prelate makes his residence at *Eutin*, a fair seat upon a Lake, four leagues distant from *Lubeck*.

P. Since you have done with the Benefices in *Germany* which have suffered some alteration,

on, you will be so kind as to speak of the others, and to begin with *Saltzbourg* so much famed for its abundance of Salt, which makes that Prelate extraordinary rich, and for the situation of the City, which puts it into the rank of the faireſt and ſtrongeſt in *Europe*.

G. Dignities are not only conſiderable for the ſtrength, riches, and beauty of a place, but alſo, and more eſpecially, for the rank they give unto the perſons that poſſeſs them. The Archbiſhop of *Saltzbourg* is Legate born of the Apoſtolick See; he alternates with the Archdukes in the Diets of the Empire, and gives place to none but the Electors. *Paris*, Count of *Ladron*, was long in poſſeſſion of this Benefice with great honour, and when he dyed, made room for *Gardobaldi* Count of *Thurin*, who comes not behind him either in vertue or magnificence.

P. There is enough ſaid of the Archbiſhopricks, let us ſee the Biſhopricks.

G. The Catholick Biſhops that ſtill enjoy a ſeat and ſuffrage in the Aſſemblies of the Empire, are, *Bamberg*, *Wirsbourg*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, *Eichſtedt*, *Augsbourg*, *Conſtance*, *Hildeſheim*, *Paderborne*, *Munſter*, *Oſnabrug*, *Paſſau*, *Strasbourg*, *Friſinguen*, *Liege*, *Trent*, *Brixe*, and *Baſile*; of which nevertheleſs *Oſnabrug* belongs to the Catholicks only by turns, and after the death of *Francis* Count of *Wirtemberg*, a moſt venerable Prelate, who was

plenipotentiary of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors at *Munſter*, and gave great proof of his prudence, dexterity, and magnificence, to the ſatisfaction and with the admiration of all the Aſſembly; I ſay, after his death, *Erneſt Auguſtus* Duke of *Lunebourg* ſhall be Biſhop of *Oſnabrug*, though he be a Lutheran. All the reſt that I mentioned, do abſolutely belong to the Catholiques, greatly fortifying the Popes authority in *Germany*, and bringing a large Revenue to *Rome* by the obligation the Prelates have to ſend thither for their Bulls.

P. I think I have heard, that *Prague* and *Olmuts* were Suffragans to the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz*; and yet you make no mention of them.

G. Theſe two Biſhopricks were Suffragans to *Mentz*, but afterwards united to make up the Archbiſhoprick of *Prague*, which ſends no Deputy to the general Aſſemblies of the Empire, nor hath any place or voice there, no more then the Kingdom of *Bohemia*: And that is the reaſon why I ſpeak not of them here.

P. Tell me ſomething in particular of every one of the Biſhopricks.

G. That of *Bamberg* is the firſt of the Empire; it acknowledges no Metropolitan, but depends immediately upon the Pope, and its Subjects cannot appeal from the Juſtice thereof. This Biſhoprick is of Imperial foundation, and the Biſhop hath right to receive the Oath

which

which the Electors are to take to the Emperor for their Offices of Great Cup-bearer, Great Steward, Great Marſhal, and Great Chamberlain: And which is to be admired, theſe Electors were anciently hereditary great Cup-bearers, great Stewards, great Marſhals, and great Chamberlains to this Biſhop, who in that had the ſame honour the Emperor hath; though every one thought it ſtrange to ſee the greateſt Princes of the Empire in the ſervice of a Gentleman. He that is Biſhop at preſent ſucceeded *Melchior Otho Voite* of *Salsbourg*, and is of the ſame Houſe that he was of. This Prelate is exceedingly well lodged at *Bamberg*, where he hath pleaſant gardens, and excellent walks of Orange-trees: but the City is weak, which enforces the Biſhop to betake himſelf unto ſome other place in the time of Wars.

P. If I be not miſtaken, *Francis* Count of *Haſfeld*, brother to him that was General of the Imperial Forces, had this Biſhoprick and that of *Wirsbourg* both together; and after his death they were given, the one to *Melchior Otho Voite*, and the other to *John Philip Schemborne*, Gentlemen of *Franconia*.

G. That is true; and *Anſelm Caſimir* Elector of *Mentz* departing this life ſoon after, *John Philip Schemborne* was put into his place with the general applauſe of all that know him. This Prince is fortifying *Wirsbourg* Caſtle, which is marvellouſly well ſituated upon a lofty

rising-ground, at the foot whereof runs the river *Meyn*. The City is large and fair, entirely Catholique, as *Bamberg* is. This Bishop bears the title of Duke of *Francenia*, and it is denyed him by none but the Marquisses of *Brandenbourg*. His Countrey is pleasant and well peopled; his Subjects are free from all other Jurisdiction, and his Fortress of *Konigshoiffen* is excellent: So that this Prelate is able to assist his friends with great forces, if he will make use of his men and his money.

P. He cannot be poor, being both Archbishop of *Mentz* and Bishop of *Wirsbourg*: But Churchmen do oftentimes think more of enriching their kindred then succouring their friends. Let us look upon the rest, if you please.

G. *Wormes* is the Head and Director of the Circle of the *Rhine*, joyntly with the Prince Palatine of *Simeren*. The City is vast, as well as *Spire*; and both of them being fit for nothing but to exhaust the Treasure, and employ the Army of him that holds them in time of War; the Great *Gustavus* upon that consideration judged it necessary to dismantle them. *Spire* belonged heretofore to *Philip Christopher* of *Sotteren* Elector of *Tryer*, who having fortified *Udenheim*, a Village upon the *Rhine* where he had a Castle, called it *Philipsbourg*: At present the French have a garrison there, which costs the Bishop nothing, but may in time of

War

war annoy both him and the reſt of his neighbours.

P. Is not this Elector he, whom *Ferdinand* II. cauſed to be ſecured; and who, after he got out of priſon, engaged himſelf to *France* in a perpetual bond of amity and intereſt?

G. The very ſame, who to the great grief of his enemies lived till he was 80. years old, and dyed *A. D.* 1652. He was ſucceeded in his Electorſhip by *Charles Gaſpar de Legen*, and in his Biſhoprick of *Spire* by a Gentleman called *Lotharius Frederick* of *Metternik*.

P. I think it very reaſonable, that every great Benefice ſhould have its own Prelate.

G. And I am of the ſame opinion; but the contrary is often ſeen in *Germany*, as well as elſewhere. *Paſſau* and *Strasbourg* are in the hands of the Archduke *Leopold William*, who is no Prieſt, but adminiſters them by Vicars General.

Eichſted is a Member of the Circle of *Franconia*; the Biſhoprick was founded by *Willibald* ſon to *Richard* King of *England*, who dyed *July* 7. *A. D.* 781. This Prelate is one of the moſt conſiderable for power in the Empire, whether you look upon his Revenue, or the Lords and Gentlemen that depend on him. Neither he, nor the Biſhop of *Wirsbourg* are Directors of the ſaid Circle; but the Biſhop of *Bamberg*, when the Circle is aſſembled about Eccleſiaſtical affairs, and the Marquis

of *Culembach*, when it is called together about matters purely Secular.

P. You make a distinction here which is not used in other places; for the Bishop of *Constance* and the Duke of *Wirtemberg* are Directors of the Circle of *Swaben*, and preside in the Assemblies, whether the business under debate be Ecclesiastical or no.

G. Most of the Circles have one Ecclesiastical and one Secular Director, who call Assemblies together, and preside therein, without distinction of the matters to be treated on. In the Electoral Circle the Electors of *Mentz* and the *Palatine* have that right; in that of the *Rhine*, the Bishop of *Wormes* and the *Palatine* of *Simeren*, in whose room the Landgrave of *Darmstadt* was substituted during the last war. In the Circle of the Upper *Saxony* that Elector alone hath the presidence of the Assembly; in that of the Lower, the Archbishop of *Magdebourg* and the Duke of *Brunswick* had formerly that right; but now the King of *Sweden* as Duke of *Bremen* takes turns with that Archbishop, without prejudice to the Con-direction of the Duke of *Brunswick*. In the Circle of *Westphalia* the Bishop of *Munster* and the Duke of *Iuliers* have that right; in that of *Swaben* the Bishop of *Constance* and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*. In the Circle of *Bavaria* the Archbishop of *Saltzbourg* and that Duke are presidents; in that of *Franconia*, there having been

been a great difference between the Bishop of *Bamberg* and the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* residing at *Culembach*, it was resolved, that if matters purely Ecclesiastical be the occasion of assembling the Circle, the Bishop of *Bamberg* alone should have power to convoke it, and then he presides there without controul; but when the Province is to be called together upon business purely Political, the Marquis of *Culembach* hath the sole right to do it, and to preside in the Assembly: And this agreement is punctually observed.

P. Though we be run into another Theam, I am glad I have learnt who are the Heads and Directors of the Circles of the Empire: And if it be not troublesom to you, do me the favour to tell me who presides in the Circles of *Austria* and *Burgundy*; and then continue your discourse of the Bishopricks.

G. The Princes of the House of *Austria* having exalted themselves to a degree above admitting any Peer, will have no Companion in the Direction of their Circles; and so the Archdukes alone are Directors of the Circle of *Austria*, and the King of *Spain* of that of *Burgundy*. This Prince since the war he had with the *Hollanders*, hath sent no more Deputies, as *Charles* V. promised to do when the Low Countreys were put under the protection of the Empire.

Now to pursue our discourse concerning the

Bishopricks, you shall take notice before we go forward, that four Protestant Princes have Canonryes at *Strasbourg*, to wit, the Dukes of *Brunswick*, *Meklebourg*, and *Wirtemberg*, and the Marquis of *Dourlach*.

P. I am informed that those Benefices are but little worth.

G. Those Princes value the Canonryes more, because upon that account they are Members of the Chapter of *Strasbourg*, then for the Revenue they yield, which in truth is hardly sufficient to maintain a servant.

Augsbourg is famous throughout the World, for the beauty of the City, for the great number of Goldsmiths and other Artisans that make a thousand curiosities, and because in the year 1530. the Protestant Princes did there present their Confession of Faith to the Emperor *Charles* V.

Constance is known throughout all Christendom by reason of the Council held there, by order whereof *John Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prague* were burnt without any respect had to the Safe-Conduct of the Emperor *Sigismond*.

P. They say Catholiques believe, that faith ought not to be kept with Heretiques.

G. The most rational Catholiques abhor that maxime; which if allowed, destroyes Commerce, ruines Treaties, foments Wars, sowes Discord, quenches Charity, and disannuls Religion. A Prince should esteem nothing more

precious

precious then his word, nothing more venerable then his faith, nor more ſacred then his promiſe. King *Francis* I. ſaid, that if faith were utterly vaniſht out of the World, it ſhould be found in his word: And *Charles* V. having given his to Doctor *Luther*, obſerved it religiouſly. It is true indeed, that the *Spaniards*, not willing that *Luthers* Reformation ſhould be charged upon that incomparable Emperor, ſay that he kept his faith, becauſe Doctor *Luther* had already written much, and that it would have been more prejudicial to the Church to put him to death, then to let him live. But that cannot be affirmed without too much diminution to the Glory of that great Prince. Be careful then of promiſing a thing, the obſerving whereof may be of damage to you; but make good your promiſe what ever it coſt you; and though you ſhould have paſt your word to a *Turk*, do what you have undertaken.

P. It is generally ſaid, that a man ſhould keep his promiſe, but doth that rule admit of no exception?

G. Thoſe things that cannot be promiſed with good reaſon, do with as little reaſon bind to their obſervation. For example, If any one had promiſed to kill, to betray, to ſell his Maſter, or any other ſuch like thing, he would not be obliged to make good his promiſe; for as much as he that promiſeth thoſe unlawful things,

things, promiſeth that whereunto he neither hath nor can have any right: And a promiſe takes its ſtrength from the right which the promiſer hath over the thing promiſed.

P. Is it not as unlawful to give an Heretique his life (which he employes in ſeducing the People) as to kill or beat another man?

G. Thoſe things are not of the ſame nature: A man cannot be beaten or killed without a violation of all Lawes; but by keeping faith with Heretiques none at all are infringed. All well-governed Nations have thought it juſt and neceſſary to keep their word where it was engaged. When *Croton* a notorious robber preſented himſelf, *Auguſtus* commanded that ſum to be delivered to him, which he had promiſed to the perſon that ſhould bring in the Bandites head: And *Pompey* gave Pirates both their lives and means to live quietly, only becauſe he would not falſifie his promiſe. But certainly there is no leſs obligation to keep faith with an Heretique, then with a High-way-man, and a Free-booter; unleſs one believe that a Chriſtian is leſs bound to make good his word then a Heathen; or that keeping faith ſhould be thought convenient among all other Nations, and inconvenient to thoſe that profeſs the Faith: as if the People that are enlightned by the brightneſs of the Goſpel, ought to be leſs juſt then thoſe that are immerſt and mudded in the darkneſs of error and idolatry.

P. You

P. You conclude then, that it is requiſite to keep faith even with Infidels and Heretiques; and I am of the ſame opinion. And in very truth, a Prince that ſhould have Subjects of a Religion which would teach the contrary, could have no confidence in them, no more then they in him, if he had no regard to keep his word with them, upon pretenſe that he believed them Heretiques. But let us turn into our Road again.

G. *Conſtance* having ſhewn us the inconſtancy of humane promiſes, hath drawn us a little out of our way; yet it is no hard matter to ſtrike into it again. *Ferdinand* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and Elector of *Collen*, held the Biſhopricks of *Hildeſheim*, *Paderborne*, *Verden*, *Munſter*, and *Liege*, all together; by means whereof he might have given himſelf much eaſe, and enjoyed his pleaſure, if the War had not engaged him in great diſquiet and exceſſive expenſes. The Jeſuits have heretofore told me, that the two firſt of theſe Biſhopricks had a miraculous foundation, after this manner; while *Lewis* the *Debonaire* was at *Hildeſheim*, it ſnowed ſo much all night, that on the morrow the ſnow was a foot deep every where, except in the place where the Cathedral Church was afterwards built: And *Charlemagne* deſiring to encamp on that ground where *Paderborne* ſtands, wherein there was want of water, the firſt pin that was ſtruck into the earth to faſten his Pavillion, gave iſſue

to

to a plentiful ſpring that drives ſome water-mills. Upon which ſource the Emperor cauſed the Church to be built, and endowed it with a Revenue neceſſary for the maintenance of a Biſhop. *Liege* is known to all thoſe that have read the Hiſtory of *Charles* the Brave Duke of *Burgundy*, who lay very heavy upon it at divers times, and upon ſundry occaſions. This Biſhoprick and that of *Hildeſheim* are ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the Elector of *Collen*; but *Verden* and *Minden* were Secularized.

P. I knew before that thoſe two Biſhopricks were given to the King of *Sweden* and the Elector of *Brandenbourg*. Tell me ſomething of *Munſter*.

G. That City is of ſpecial note, becauſe its Biſhop is the Head of the Circle of *Weſtphalia*, and becauſe it was the place of the Aſſembly wherein many Biſhopricks altered their property; but much more, for having been the ſeat of *John* of *Leyden*, that petty King, and ſeditious Anabaptiſt, who for ſome years carried the Sceptre and Ball for marks of his Royalty: At laſt he was beſieged, taken, and put on the top of a Steeple in an iron Cage, where he was eaten up by flyes and waſps, together with two of his companions who were placed a little lower, after they had been carried in triumph and mockery unto ſeveral Princes. That puniſhment, fit for their Rebellion, and other crimes of theirs, was inflicted upon them. *A. D.* 1536.

P. You

P. You ſaid ere whiles, that *Ferdinand* Archbiſhop of *Collen* held many Biſhopricks together; and I would willingly know whether the Church of *Rome* permit one ſingle perſon to have ſo many Benefices, every one requiring reſidence.

G. The Canon Law is directly againſt plurality of Benefices; and according to the doctrine of the Caſuiſts, juſt as Chriſtians are forbidden to have many wives at one time, ſo are Prieſts to have many ſuch Benefices together: For where the Scripture ordains, that a Biſhop ſhould be the husband of one wife, they ſay it is meant of one Biſhoprick. But the Pope doth eaſily diſpenſe, when the Biſhop is of high extraction; and at this time there are ſome great Lords that hold more then two of the beſt Biſhopricks in *Germany*.

P. I wonder Diſpenſations are granted in that caſe, ſeeing by how much the Prelate is of greater condition, by ſo much is he the better enabled to ſupport his Dignity with the eſtate of his Houſe. But the Pope is to anſwer for thoſe Diſpenſations; and it may be, he that is ſubject to no Law here, will find himſelf much to ſeek when he is to give an account of his actions before the Tribunal of a Judge that hath no reſpect to Mitres, and ſhows no more favour to the great then to the little, to the rich then to the poor. Let us go on to the Biſhopricks that remain.

G. Being

G. Being I have no intention to ſpeak of thoſe that lye within the Hereditary Countreys of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, becauſe they ſit not in the Diets of the Empire; it remains only that we ſay ſomething concerning thoſe of *Friſinguen*, *Brix*, *Baſile*, and *Trent*. The firſt is poſſeſſed by *Albert Sigiſmond*, ſon to *Albert* brother to the late *Maximilian* Elector of *Bavaria*. The ſecond is ſo ancient, that they ſay it hath had Biſhops ever ſince the year of Our Lord 360. The third hath no power over the City, and the Biſhop hath his ſeat and reſidence at *Poirentrus*. The laſt is known throughout all Chriſtendom, by reaſon of the Council which was held there under five Popes, and brought to an end under *Pius* IV. *A. D.* 1563. In that Council ſome concluſions paſſed which ſtrike at the Liberties and Priviledges of the moſt Chriſtian King; the Spaniards alſo diſputed the precedence with him, which the Kings of *France* had enjoyed till that time without conteſt, and enjoy it ſtill in deſpite of their adverſary. You may here remark, that *Gabriel Bucelin* a Monk of *Weingart* having ſaid that *Henry* of *Bourbon* is Biſhop of *Metz*, makes a great exclamation thereupon, that *France* hath beſtowed a Biſhoprick upon a Natural ſon of King *Henry* IV. yet ſpeaks not a word of the abuſes committed in other places, only (as I think) becauſe the French King hath the nomination of the great Benefices of his Kingdom;

but

but that Monk doth not take notice, that there be more learned and pious Prelates in *France*, then in all Christendom besides.

P. Is there never an Ecclesiastical Prince in *Germany*, that is not a Bishop?

G. The Great Master of the *Teutonick* Order; the Abbots of *Fulda*, *Hirsefeld*, *Murbach*, *Kempten*, *Corbay*, *Prum*, *Stabel*, and *Luders*; the Grand Prior of *Malta*; the Provosts of *Elnang* and *Beressolagaden*, are Princes, and have place in the Diets of the Empire; the first immediately after the Archbishop of *Saltzbourg*, and the rest after the Bishops.

P. Tell me what you know of these Princes.

G. The Knights Templers and of St. *John* having fought prosperously against the Infidels, raised an emulation in some German Gentlemen, who waited upon the Emperor *Frederick* I. in his expedition to the Holy Land, to take the *Croisado*; and because they were installed in the Church and Hospital of St. *Mary* at *Jerusalem*, they were called *Marianites*. Their Order differed nothing from those above mentioned, but in the form and colour of their Cross, and was approved by Pope *Celestin* III. Afterwards when *Jerusalem* was taken by *Saladin*, those Knights betook themselves to *Ptolemais*; from whence the Emperor *Frederick* II. sent them back into *Germany*, and employed them against the *Prussians* and *Livonians*, who at that time were still Pagans; but by the valour

lour and piety of those Knights, their souls were brought into subjection to Christ, and their bodies to the Order, which began that War in the year 1220. A little while after, those Knights found themselves Masters of a Countrey of very large extent, which obeyed the Order till the year 1525. at which time *Sigismond* King of *Poland* gave the Investiture of *Prussia* unto *Albert* Marquis of *Brandenbourg*. In the year 1563. the Great Master became Secular again, and took a part of the lands subject to the Order, with the name of Duke of *Curland:* And *Livonia* having been the subject and Theatre of many Wars between the *Polanders*, *Muscovites*, and *Swedes*, these last did at length become Masters of it, and have it in possession still. So there is no more remaining of the *Teutonick* Order, but some Commanderies scattered here and there in *Germany*; and the Great Master hath the seat of his residence at *Manenchal* or *Morkenthal*. He is at present the Archduke *Leopold William*, only brother to the Emperor *Ferdinand* III.

P. All things here below being subject to change, I do not wonder that the zeal of those first Knights should grow cold, and that they (like the Templers) abused their riches. Tell me something of the Abbot of *Fulda*, and the Grand Prior of *Germany*.

G. This Abbey is one of the richest and most celebrious in *Europe*. It was founded upon the river

river of *Fulda* (between the Countreys of *Hesse*, *Franconia*, and *Wetteravia*) by *Charlemagne* and *Pepin* Kings of *France*, in the year 744. This Abbot is first of the Empire; he is Arch-Chancellor to the Empress, calls himself Primate of *Gallia*, and disputes precedence with the greatest Lords. They say that heretofore he could raise 60000. men; and though there were a Cypher too much in the account, he would be yet be too potent for an Abbot, who should have no other care but to direct the Monks in the path of vertue by his doctrine and example. The Grand Prior of the Order of *Malta* in *Germany*, is at this time *Frederick*, Landgrave of *Hesse* brother to him of *Darmstadt*, who was created Cardinal within these few years; and when from being a Lutheran he turned Catholick in the year 1636. he was made one of the Great Crosses of *Malta* by *Urban* VIII. and a little after, being General of the Galleys of that Order, for an Essay of his prowess he entred with five Galleys into the Port of *Carthage* at *Goletta*, and came out again in spite of the Turkish Canon, which continued playing upon him as thick as hail, each of his Galleys towing one of *Caragoges* the great Pirates Ships at her Stern, the biggest whereof carried forty pieces of Ordinance, and as many Murderers. That action got this young Prince a great deal of honour amongst the Knights of his Order, two hundred whereof

were partners in his fortune, and admirers of his resolution.

P. The Landgraves never do any dishonorable thing; and if this Prince had pursued his point, and continued in the warlike profession, he had cut out work for the common Enemy of Christians. Let us see the rest, if you please.

G. The Abbey of *Murbach* (whereunto that of *Luders* is united, because they have both suffered the injury of the times) was once so potent that it could maintain 1260. Horse. It was founded in the mountains of *Alsatia* by *Eberhard* Duke of *Almaine* (now called *Swaben*) to the honour of St. *Landegn* one of his Ancestors. These two Abbeys are at this time in the possession of the Archduke *Leopold William*. The Provost of *Elvang* is usually chosen out of the body of the Chapter of the Provostship, the Canons whereof are Gentlemen. He is rich, and well lodged in a Castle situate upon a high ground near the City of *Elvang*. *Corbay* is an Abbey in *Saxony*, so called, because St. *Adelar* Cousin to *Charlemagne*, Abbot of *Corbie* in *Picardy*, was the Founder thereof in the year 822. and since that time it hath produced great personages. *Prum* had the honour within its own walls to see *Lotharius* son to the Emperor *Lewis* the *Debonaire* change a Crown for a Monks Cowl: And *Stabel* is an Abbey in the Bishoprick of *Liege*. All these Prelates go before the Secular Princes.

P. I

P. I think there are ſome Prelates that come behind the Secular Princes, and though they ſit in the Aſſemblies, have no voice there but in Body, as the Counts have.

G. Thoſe Prelates are three and twenty in number; and fourteen Abbeſſes, to wit, of *Quedlimbourg*, *Eſſen*, *Hermord*, *Nidez*, and *Obermunſter* at *Katisbon*, of *Lindau*, *Herenrida*, *Buchau* upon the Lake, *Federſic*, *Rotemmunſter* near *Kottevil*, *Hagbaen*, *Guttenzel*, *Reind*, *Dandelan*, and *Gunderthem*. Theſe Ladies have right to ſit in the Aſſemblies, but for the decorum of their Sex they are excuſed from coming thither in perſon, and yet are obliged to ſend their Deputies. The Prelates do all bear the quality of Abbot, Provoſt, or Bailiff, and are ſo rich and powerful, that if their Revenue were well employed, they might juſtly ſtrike a terror into all thoſe that would meddle with them.

P. I know the power of the Churchmen in *Germany* is too too boundleſs; and it may be their riches gave occaſion to the Princes to make themſelves Maſters of a part of the good things which they abuſed.

G. Although the errors which were crept into the Church, and the depraved converſations of Churchmen, were the firſt motive of thoſe changes that hapned in the laſt age; nevertheleſs it is certain, that if that had not been, ſome other cauſe would have been found

out to abate the Revenues of Priests, which were every day encreased by ways unjust and violent.

P. How did the Churchmen come to be so prodigiously wealthy?

G. The piety of the ancient Christians began that which the avarice of the Priests hath accomplished; and to speak more clearly, Christians of every condition seeing men of the Church afflicted, beaten, and martyred for the Gospels sake, gave them both in their lifetime, and left them after their deaths a part of their Estates, either upon money lent out for their use, or upon lands set at a perpetual rent, or upon other goods. After which, Priests went on even to excess, and by Legacies in Wills and Testaments got Dutchies, Counties, Baronies, Fiefs, Castles, Rent-charges as well as Services and Fee-farm-rents, and Houses both in City and Countrey: by which means Successions fell to them on every side; and so they purchased, exchanged, & negotiated with the Revenue of their Benefices, employing the profits thereof to compass other estates, which being in their hands became exempt and free of all charge. It was that vast enriching of Churchmen which made the People so bare and miserable, being forced to contribute towards defraying the expenses of War, and the maintenance of Princes, although the poor contributors enjoyed but the least part of the land; which

which obliged Kings at last to forbid Priests all kinds of further acquisitions. If that had not been done, they had swallowed all long since; for heretofore there was an order, that no Will should be made without bequeathing something to the Church: And if any one dyed intestate, an estimate was made of his inheritance, and according to the value thereof a portion was allotted and given to the Priests. For the remedying of that excess very excellent Laws have been made in *England*, the Low Countreys, and at *Venice*; and the Parliament of *Paris* it self, seeing the immense riches of the *Carthusians* and *Celestins*, made orders expressly prohibiting them the acquiring of any more immovables.

P. Those regulations are just, where Churchmen live in plenty; but they should not be hindred from making moderate acquisitions, it being reasonable that they who feed us spiritually, should be maintained corporally.

G. Your argument is very good: Poverty should not be permitted in the Church; for it is impossible the Priest should carefully attend upon preaching the Gospel, visiting the sick, comforting the afflicted, and administring the Sacraments, and at the same time labour to get bread. While Clergy-men were under continual suffering, they stood in need of extraordinary assistance, to keep them from falling into despair; but growing too rich, they

were ſwallowed up in lazyneſs, from whence there flowed ſtreams of ignorance, wantonneſs, impiety, luxury, ſuperſtition, idolatry, and other vices, which brought Chriſtendom almoſt to utter ruine.

P. Let us not enter into the conſideration of the lives, manners, and humours of Prieſts, who have conſtrained good men to procure their reformation, and that reformation cauſed rivers of blood, which have very near drowned Chriſtendom. Tell me rather how the Eccleſiaſtical Princes come by their Dignity.

G. The Prelates of *Germany* are not all riſed to their Dignity after one and the ſame manner; and the order obſerved now differs from that which was obſerved when *Germany* received the Faith. In the beginning of Chriſtianity Biſhops were every where choſen by the Clergy and the People joyntly. After which, when the Roman Emperors were become Chriſtians, they ſometimes gave Biſhops to the principal Churches by their own authority, or of ſeveral that were propoſed to them, they made choice of him that pleaſed them beſt: So *Conſtans* made *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Theodoſius* the younger choſe *Nectarius* to be Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, from amongſt many that were named to him. Since the fourth age (before which there were few or no Biſhops in *Germany*) the Kings made a Decree, that no man ſhould be promoted to

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the Epiſcopal Dignity without their conſent; and when *Germany* was united to *France*, the French Kings made ſuch uſe of that right, that no man was made Biſhop but by their nomination, or at leaſt their approbation: for if the Clergy and the People choſe a Biſhop, he was to be confirmed by the King. In *Bavaria* (which at that time had its own Kings) ſometimes the People, and ſometimes the King choſe the Biſhops, but ſo as there was no need to have Bulls from *Rome*. *Pepin* gave the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz* to *Boniface*; and that Prelate being grown old, he obtained a Coadjutor from the ſame King, without having recourſe to the Pope.

P. I believe indeed that *Pepin* raiſed that Prelate to the Epiſcopal Dignity, but ſome think he had obtained permiſſion to do ſo from Pope *Zachary*.

G. The creatures of *Rome* would make us believe ſo; but that is not probable, ſince *Pepins* Predeceſſors had the ſame power, and his Succeſſors maintained it: inſomuch that *Leo*, or rather *Gregory* IV. durſt not make *Colonus* the Deacon Biſhop of *Reale* without the permiſſion of *Lewis* the *Debonaire*; and the Fathers of the Synod held at *Aix-la-Chapelle* entreated the ſame Emperor to have a great care of giving good Paſtors to the Churches. Nay, all the Popes from *Leo* VIII. to *Gregory* VII. were created or confirmed by the Emperors

P. But have not the Emperors made, nor confirmed any Popes since that time?

G. *Gregory* VII. took away from Kings and Emperors the power not only of creating and confirming the Popes, but the Bishops also in the Countreys under their obedience; and having excommunicated the Emperor *Henry* IV. he commanded *Hugh* Bishop of *Die* his Legat in *France* to procure a Decree to be made against Lay-men that would name persons unto Bishoprieks. The year after, he forbad Church-men the receiving of any Bishoprick, Abbey, or other Benefice from the hand of a Lay-man, though he were King or Emperor; and within two years more he pronounced, that the power of choosing Bishops and Pastors belonged to the Apostolick See. *Victor* III. confirmed the Decrees of *Gregory* VII. *Urban* II. went further, and at the Synod of *Melfi Can.* 8. and at that of *Clermont Can.* 15. and 16. forbad Clergy-men to take the Oath of Allegiance unto their Princes. Those Decrees drew the Emperor *Henry* V. into the field, who took *Paschal* II. prisoner, and made him restore the Empire unto its first condition. But when Popes had once tasted what a pleasure it was to be independent, and to keep the Emperors under their authority, they forced the Councils of *Lateran* and *Vienna* held in the year 1112. to declare Heretical the Collations of Benefices made by Lay-men. The Emperor

on the other ſide deſiring to keep up their power, named one Biſhop, and the Pope or the People, another; and the ſtronger party held the Biſhoprick, to the great ſcandal and prejudice of Chriſtendom. At length *Paſchal* II. excommunicated *Henry* V. *Calixtus* II. confirmed the proceedings of his predeceſſors at the Council of *Reims A. D.* 1120. and *Henry* being both ſtrucken by the Popes thunderbolts, and wearied by the obſtinacy of the Princes, renounced his own right in the Diet held at *Wormes A. D.* 1122. In this manner the right which the Emperors had to chooſe Biſhops paſſed from them to the Clergy and the People; but a little after, the Canons of Cathedral Churches aſſumed that right to themſelves, and keep it ſtill.

P. I obſerve that many of the Councils wherein the Empire loſt ſo much of its power and dignity, were held in *France*.

G. Thoſe Kings ſeeing that *Germany* had ſeparated it ſelf from *France*, and kept the Imperial Majeſty which their firſt Predeceſſors of the ſecond Race had gotten, were glad to ſee it humbled; and for that cauſe they ſided with the Popes, when they would vex the Empire; helping by that means to forge and hammer thoſe chains of ſervitude, which would have oppreſſed them and their Succeſſors, if the Popes had not met with Parliaments and a French people more inclined to obey their own Kings,

Kings, then to follow the orders of *Rome*.

P. Thoſe Subjects who prefer the obedience they owe to their Soverains before any other conſideration, are highly to be commended. Tell me how the Prelates in theſe times obtain their Benefices.

G. There are two ways of creating Prelates in *Germany*; the one is called *Election*, and the other *Poſtulation*. When the Chapter being Canonically aſſembled chooſes one of the members of their Body to be the Head thereof, or at leaſt two thirds of the Canons give him their voices, he is made Archbiſhop or Biſhop by Election: And if the ſame Canons think it fit to raiſe unto that Dignity ſome Prince or Prelate that is not of their Body, they call that kind of proceeding Poſtulation. Both theſe are lawful, and the only practiſed ways in the Empire: And it is all I had to tell you concerning the Eccleſiaſtical perſons of *Germany*; which may ſuffice you, unleſs you deſire to know whether they do homage to the Emperor.

P. I queſtion not but Church-men receive their Fiefs from the Emperor, and pay him homage for their Principalities; but I would gladly know whether they be more ſtrictly tyed to the Emperor or to the Pope, and which ſide they would take, in caſe his Holineſs ſhould make War upon the Empire.

G. The Holy Scripture teaches us, that no man can ſerve two Maſters; and I believe the Church-

Churchmen of *Germany* would find the experience of it, if the Emperor and the Pope ſhould have any quarrel or controverſie: For they are obliged to the Pope as Prieſts and Prelates, and to the Emperor as Feudataries of the Empire. They that prefer the Grandeur of *Rome* before that of *Germany*, would forſake the Emperor; and they that undervalue the fulminations of the Vatican, would bear up the intereſt of the Empire againſt the Pope. Now if I durſt tell you my thoughts, I do verily believe that of ten there would hardly be found one that would depart from the Popes intereſt.

P. I think ſo too, and hold it for certain that Popes have brought down the authority of Soverains by the help of Churchmen.

G. That may well be; for the bond of Religion holds men more ſtrongly then any other duty. And though wiſe men diſtinguiſh between the true zeal and the capricious humour of Popes, yet the greateſt part of Chriſtians being perſwaded that S. *Peter* cannot have any unjuſt pretenſion, doth turn to his ſide without knowing at what he aims; and whether it be by ſimplicity or malice, the Prieſts have often brought miſery upon their Countrey to bring their Princes under the Pope, not conſidering that Soverain eſtates depend of none but God, and that all Churchmen (not excepting the Pope himſelf) owe obedience unto their Princes.

P. The

P. The Doctrine of the Popes is absolutely contrary to yours: The Holy Father may judge of all, without being subject to the judgement of any body, being the Sun of the earth, and the Emperor but the Moon, and therefore 6645. times bigger then he; and having power to free the Subjects of another from the Oath they have taken to obey him, with how much more reason may he exempt and withdraw himself from the obedience of every other Prince?

G. Flatterers give that power to Popes, who abusing the same, have oftentimes been the cause of great Rebellions. But the people of this age are not so simple as those of former times, who believing these fables, forsook their Kings, and brutishly spilt the blood of their Countreymen. Christians now a dayes turn the eyes of their understanding upon the Primitive Church, and see it evidently there, that Popes were not alwayes so potent as they are now, and indeed that they ought not to be so, seeing they style themselves Lieutenants to Christ, and Successors to S. Peter; the first of whom did alwayes protest, that *his Kingdom was not of this World*; and the other teacheth us as well as S *Paul*, that *every soul should be subject to the Higher Powers*: From which words S. *Bernard* concludes, that Popes ought to be subject to Princes.

P. Many things should be that are not;

But

But let us ſpeak no more of the Pope or of his power: Let us (if you pleaſe) ſee how thoſe that preach againſt him, obey their Princes; and how Church-matters are adminiſtred amongſt the *Lutherans* and the *Calviniſts* in *Germany*.

G. It is moſt certain that the Reformation of *Luther* and *Calvin* makes Church-men ſubject to the Prince under whom they live. It is nevertheleſs to be obſerved, that Proteſtant Princes do not ſubmit Eccleſiaſtical affairs to every Tribunal, but they have each of them a Conſiſtory where thoſe matters are decided, when they are of importance.

P. Have the *Lutherans* any Biſhops, to whom Prieſts are ſubject?

G. In *Sweden* and *Denmark* where both Kings and People received the Reformation of *Luther*, they obſerve almoſt the ſame order as in the Church of *Rome*, and perſons conſtituted in Eccleſiaſtical Dignities have power to preſcribe rules to others. In *Germany* where the *Lutheran* Biſhops are as abſolute as the Secular Princes, they have the right of commanding the Prieſts of their Dioceſe to do their duty. The other Princes having in their Dominions Deacons, Prieſts, particular and general Superintendents, do alſo oblige the inferior Clergy to give an account of their doctrine and lives to their Superiors, and to receive their correction. Theſe Superintendents viſit

visit their Dioceſe once a year, and make an exact enquiry into the Doctrine and manners of all the Paſtors under their inſpection.

P. And have theſe Superintendents alſo any Superior?

G. No man is exempted from an obligation to obey the Laws; and the greateſt of the Clergy have a Superior, who can and ought to chaſtiſe them when they commit any ſcandalous offence. The complaints that are made againſt the loweſt Prieſts being come to the Superintendents ear, he makes inquiſition thereinto, and reports it to the Conſiſtory, where the ancienteſt or the moſt worthy Prelate of the Principality doth uſually preſide; and that Conſiſtory fortified by the power and authority of the Prince, ordains what is juſt and reaſonable, impriſoning or degrading the offender when they think it neceſſary. Briefly, thoſe Conſiſtories are alwayes vigilant for the maintenance of Religion, the enlargement of the Kingdom of Chriſt, the peace of Conſciences, the good of the People, and the upholding of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline.

P. Do all the Evangelique Lords (ſo they term *Lutherans*) obſerve the ſame order in their Territories?

G. When the errors that had ſlipt into the Church, obliged Princes to reform within their own Dominions, every one made choice of one or more perſonages of great piety and emi-

eminent learning, by whose advice he framed and set up that order which he would have to take place in the Churches of his Countrey. In the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, where the Reformation was introduced by Duke *Christopher*, a Prince of incomparable wisdom, the Principality is divided into six Dioceses, and for every one of them there is a Prelate called Superintendent General, who is inspector thereof. Those six *P*relates have many special and particular ones under them, and over them the *P*rovost of *Montgarat*, who presides in the Consistory, where all the Ecclesiastical controversies of that Dutchy are decided. The *P*resident at this time is *Melchior Nicolai* Doctor in Divinity, very famous for his writings, and no less worthy of that eminent rank for his piety.

P. Do the reformed *P*rotestants called *Calvinists* observe the same order?

G. There is no mention of Archbishop or Bishop in the places where the *Calvinists* prevail: Yet in *Germany* they observe some order, and they that are but Pastors, yield obedience to the Superintendents.

P. I do not think there be many of that way in *Germany*.

G. The Laws of the Empire permit three Religions, whereof the Reformed is the least numerous and powerful, yet considerable in regard of the neighbourhood of the *Swisses* and

and *Hollanders*: The Electors of *Brandenbourg* and the Palatine, Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, the Princes of *Anhalt*, the Palatines of *Simmern* and *Deux-ponts*, and the Counts of *Lippe*, make publick profession of that Religion; but the first hath almost none of his Subjects of the same Confession; the second hath lost the greatest part of his estates by the last Treaty of Peace, and his Subjects are of a different Religion; the Princes of *Anhalt* and the two Palatines are but weak, and the Counts of *Lippe* of small consideration. The Catholiques have for them the Imperial Majesty, the Houses of *Austria* and *Bavaria*, part of the Palatine and of *Baden*, that of *Zolleren*, all the Ecclesiastical Princes, and the Prelates whose power is extraordinary, and some Imperial Cities. The *Lutherans* have all the rest of *Germany*, to wit, all that the Crown of Sweden possesses there, all the Principalities of the Houses of *Saxony*, *Brandenbourg*, *Brunswick*, *Luneboug*, *Holstein*, *Meklebourg*, *Wirtemberg*, *Darmstadt*, *Dourlach*, *Lawembourg*, and *East-Friseland*, a great number of Counts, and the most able Imperial Cities, as *Hambourg*, *Lubeck*, *Strasbourg*, *Brunswick*, *Ulm*, *Nuremberg*, and many others, which being backed with the neighbourhood of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, are able to strike an awe into all those that would disturb their peace; and if they hold together, they will easily disappoint all the

the vil designs of their Enemies, because the Reformed *Calvinists* will alwayes joyn with them, when hostility is used against them for Religion, being well assured that their preservation is linked in one common concern with that of the *Lutherans*.

The end of the Sixth Dialogue.

Dialogue VII.

Of the Counts and Barons of the Empire.

P. BEing we are now to speak of the Counts, it comes into my mind that we have already discoursed of the Princes without any light given me by you why they are called Archdukes, Dukes, Marquisses, Landgraves, Palsgraves, and Burgraves: And therefore before we proceed any further, I would gladly learn the Etymology of the names whereby those Dignities are expresst.

G. They were purposely deferred till we came to this place, that you might have them all together, or to avoid repetitions which are usually very irksom. And because most of

these names are compounded of the word *Grave*, I will begin with that. Touching which you are to observe, that the *Germans* call Counts *Graven*, which in old language signifies Judge; and the Latins call them *Comites*, because anciently Justice was administred at the Court, and those Judges did alwayes accompany the Emperor. Afterwards that name was given to those who administred Justice in Cities and Provinces, because the chiefest of the Judges were sent thither from the Court out of the Emperors followers.

P. The derivation which you make of the word, as well Latin as Dutch, pleases me well; but from whence do you fetch the words *Palsgrave*, *Markgrave*, *Landgrave*, and *Burgrave*?

G. All these names are compounded of *Grave*, which signifies Judge, Bailiff, or Governor in general, and being restrained by the words *Phaltz*, *Mark*, *Land*, and *Burg*, signify the Judges or chief Bailiffs of the Palace, the Borders, the Countrey, and the Fortresses: So that *Palsgrave* signifies the Lord Chief Justice of the Imperial Palace; *Margrave*, the Judge of a Frontier Province; *Landgrave*, of a Midland Province; and *Burgrave*, the Governor of a considerable Fortress, to the command whereof was annext the duty of administring Justice in the whole extent of the jurisdiction of his Government.

P. I

P. I pray enlarge your discourse a little more concerning these Offices.

G. The Palsgrave being the head of Justice in the Empire, all appeals were brought to him, and he joyntly with the Emperor decided all matters of importance. Now as every thing here below is subject to alteration; the abuses committed by the Landgraves, the Marquisses, and even by the Counts, obliged the Emperors to send Palsgraves into several places of the Empire: and at last those Counts Palatine craftily making use of the Emperors negligence, appropriated unto themselves the Provinces of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, and the *Palatinate*. Neither did the Margraves and Landgraves continue in the same state: For in the beginning their principal aim was the preservation of equity between the Subjects of the Empire; and a little after, they took upon them the care to hinder the Forain Enemy and the seditious inhabitant from doing wrong to those that were under their jurisdiction. There are others that draw the word *Margrave* from *Marka*, which in old Dutch signifies a horse; & if that Etymology be allowed for true, I think the Marquisses were Generals of Horse, and the Landgraves of Foot. Those Lords having raised their Commands to so high a point, and the Emperor losing his authority by little and little, from Officers they became Proprietors of the Provinces they had in charge. The reason

why I think that Marquiſſes were firſt Judges, then Governors, and at laſt Princes of ſome Frontier Provinces, is becauſe the ancient Marquiſates are all upon the Borders of the Empire, where the Emperors in former times maintained ſome Troops of Horſe to hinder the inroads of diſaffected Neighbours.

P. I believe the Marquiſates of *Germany* are all ancient.

G. There is no doubt but they are ſo, much more then thoſe of *France* and *Spain*: For beſides what you may have obſerved before, when we ſpoke of the Houſes of *Brandenbourg* and *Baden*, *Albinus* writes that *Henry* I. appointed the Marquis of *Miſnia* in the year 931. to withſtand the incurſions of the *Bohemians*; thoſe of *Luſatia* and *Moravia*, to keep out the *Sileſians*, who were then under the obedience of the *Polanders*; and that of *Schleswick*, to oppoſe the attempts of the *Danes*. Thoſe of *Auſtria* and *Stiria* had been eſtabliſhed before by *Charlemagne*, to bridle the *Hungarians*, and keep them within their duty.

P. Methinks there are not ſo many Marquiſates in *Germany* as you mention.

G. *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, and *Schleswick*, have been erected into Dukedoms; and the *Saxons* who poſſeſs the Marquiſates of *Miſnia* and *Luſatia*, prefer the title of Duke before that of Marquis, becauſe the Electoral Dignity is annext to the Dutchy of *Saxony*; and *Moravia*

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is in the poſſeſſion of the Emperor. By which means there is never a Houſe left in *Germany* that is honoured with the quality of Marquis, but that of *Brandenbourg* and of *Baden*, and thoſe Lords prefer it before all other titles.

P. I do not think there be many Landgraves.

G. There is none but the Houſe of *Heſſe* that takes its chief title from thence. The Landgraveſhip of *Alſatia* was transferred to the King of *France* by the Treaty of *Munſter*; that of *Leuchtemberg*, to the Houſe of *Bavaria* by the marriage of Duke *Albert* with *Matildis* heireſs of that Principality; that of *Thuringia* belongs to the Duke of *Saxony*, that of *Sanſemberg* to the Marquiſs of *Baden*, and that of *Nollembourg* to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Beſides theſe Landgraveſhips, the Counts of *Furſtemberg* take upon them the quality of Landgraves of *Stillinguen* and *Bath*; and thoſe of *Sultz* are ſtyled Landgraves of *Klegeu*: But theſe two laſt prefer the title of Count before that of Landgrave; from whence you may judge, that the Landgraves are not all Princes.

P. I conceive there is no Landgrave nor Burgrave but in *Germany*, and ſtrangers know not thoſe names in their own Countreys.

G. Certainly there is no Landgraveſhip out of *Germany*, but ſome think that Burgrave is that which Forainers call Viſcounts or Viguiers. I refer my ſelf to the truth in this caſe, and ſhall only tell you, that they who fanſie

and take delight in Quaternions, say there be four of them in *Germany*, to wit, of *Nuremberg*, *Magdebourg*, *Strombourg*, and *Reinek*. The two last whereof are no longer acknowledged for such: For *Strombourg* is a Castle situate between *Simeren* and *Creisenach*, which belongs to the Elector Palatine; and *Reinek* is fallen to the inheritance of the Counts of *Issembourg*. The Elector of *Brandenbourg* doth still bear the title of Burgrave of *Nuremburg*; though *Frederick* V. of that name, who was made Elector on St. *Johns* Eve, *A. D.* 1417. sold unto the Burgers of *Nuremberg* the Castle which he had in that City, and some Villages and Forests, with the right of the Schultets or Aldermen, for 240000. Florins, reserving to himself the name and some rights: That of *Magdebourg* belongs to the Elector of *Saxony*, who bears the title thereof, and the Arms, which are a Demy-Eagle Argent in a Field Gules. There are some other Burgraves, as those of *Kirchemberg*, *Donau*, and *Fridburg*; but they are not equal to the former.

P. Are the Archdukes ancient?

G. That name was unknown before the time of *Frederick* III. and I think *Maximilian* of *Austria* was the first that bore it: And all the world affords no Archdukes but those of *Austria*. As to the cause for which those Princes took up that glorious title, I judge, that the Emperors of that House seeing their

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Family arrived to the higheſt degree of power and dignity, were deſirous that it ſhould have a peculiar name to it ſelf; and for that reaſon they would never communicate it to any one elſe, though they have been entreated ſo to do very often and very earneſtly. Now the word ſignifies Prince or chief of Dukes, as that of Archbiſhop ſignifies Prince or chief of Biſhops: But I do not ſee that the Archdukes have any Suffragan Dukes, as the Archbiſhops, who have Biſhops under them.

P. I do not believe that the Archdukes pretend to have any Dukes their Suffragans, but only to ſhew by that title, that there is as much difference between them and other Dukes, as there is between an Archbiſhop and a Biſhop. Tell me ſomething of the Dukes.

G. The title of Duke is very ancient, but it hath not alwayes been ſo conſiderable as it is now. The Romans honoured their chief Officers of war with that name, becauſe they led on the ſouldiers to the battel. After that, and in proceſs of time, the ſtate of affairs obliging the Emperors to have Officers of quality and long experience in war to guard the Frontier Provinces, they ſent ſome of their Dukes thither.

P. The Emperors did not appoint Dukes only for the Government of Frontier Provinces, ſeeing thoſe that ly in the midſt of the Empire, are honoured alſo with the title of Dukedom.

G. The first Governor that bore the quality of Duke was he of the Marches of *Rhetia*, a Countrey betwixt *Germany* and *Italy* which at this time we call the *Grisons*. To that Province the Emperors sent a Duke to withstand the *Germans*, who oftentimes endeavoured to make irruptions into *Italy* through that passage, since which, several Governors as well of other Provinces in the Empire as those on the Borders, have had the same honour, because it was thought necessary to send garrisons into those parts, to keep the People in obedience, and also by that means to provide an honourable entertainment for those Lords that had served well in the wars. But as nothing is enough for ambition, those Governors in the end made themselves masters of the Provinces which they had in charge: And so the Dukes grew great by the diminution and enfeebling of their Head, as the Marquisses, Landgraves, Burgraves, and Counts in like manner did. The word *Duke* is borrowed from the Latin *Ducere*, as *Hertzog* in Dutch from words that signify a Conductor of an Army.

P. Are all Dukes of the same condition?

G. There is not one in *Germany* but is a Prince, and allied to Kings; those of other Countreys are not so: And whether you consider their antiquity, or cast your eye upon their estates, Alliances, and manner of living, they ought certainly to be preferred before those

those of *Spain*, *France*, and *England*, and to be ranked equally with the greatest of *Italy*.

P. I know that in *France* the ancient Dukedoms have been united to the Crown; that in *Spain* the proud *Morisco* humour gave the title of a Kingdom to the lands that are not worth a good County; and that in *England* there is never an ancient Duke. But before we enter upon a particular consideration of the Counts of the Empire, I pray tell me whether the Dukes were alwayes greater and more illustrious then the Counts.

C. We have seen already that the ancients called them *Duces* that led on souldiers to the battel, and *Comites* those that were taken out of the Emperors Court to administer Justice to the Subjects of the Empire. A little after, the nature of those employments were altered, and the Dukes became Generals of Armies, or Governors of Provinces; and the Counts, chief Justices in the Cities and Provinces of the Empire: And both of them made themselves Masters of the lands whereof they were Judges or Governors. All those Lords assisted the Emperor in the beginning, some at the Councel-board, and others in the field, all of them performing useful and beneficial service to the State: Nay, I believe, without regarding the title either of Duke or Count, the Emperors employed those Lords indifferently in the Palace or in the Armies; so that it is hard

to

to judge whether title was the more honourable. Yet it is to be obſerved, that there were ſome Counts by Office, and others by Dignity; that the former ſort were raiſed to places of authority without regard had to their birth, and the others were equal, or very little inferior to the Dukes.

P. There are ſome that preſume to ſay, that heretofore Counts were greater then Dukes.

G. *Gariban* a diligent *Spaniſh* Hiſtoriographer, following the opinion of *Vaſco*, affirms that Counts were greater then Dukes, and endeavours to prove it from that which is found in the Councils held at *Toledo*, where ſome that ſubſcribed them ſtyled themſelves *Comites Proceres*, and *Comites Duces*. And the reaſon whereupon they ground that aſſertion, is, becauſe all thoſe that have many titles, ſet the greateſt in the firſt place: Which nevertheleſs is not alwayes true; for the Cardinals of the Church of *Rome* when they ſign any thing, write Deacon Cardinal, Prieſt Cardinal, or Biſhop Cardinal, not to perſwade us that the dignity of Deacon, Prieſt, or Biſhop is above that of Cardinal, but to inform us that they are not barely Deacons or Prieſts, but Deacon Cardinals, that is, the moſt eminent Princes of the Church: And ſo it was with the Lords that ſubſcribed thoſe Councils; they ſtyled themſelves Counts, and for a diſtinction from

others

others they added Duke as the more eminent.

P. You will confeſs that the ſons and brethren of Kings, and the greateſt Officers of the Imperial and Royal Houſes have anciently contented themſelves with the title of Count; and if the Ducal dignity had been greater, they would without queſtion have deſired, ſought for, and obtained it.

G. The titles which Kings have formerly given to their children, as alſo thoſe of Count of the Palace, *Comes Stabuli* or Conſtable, and others which ſatisfied the principal Officers of the Imperial Court, do in no wiſe derogate from the quality of Duke: For at laſt thoſe Princes better bethought themſelves, and acknowledging that the name of Duke was alwayes a higher quality then that of Count, they deſired to be honoured with the ſame. I know very well, that the Counties of *Caſtille*, *Portugal*, *Flanders*, *Tyrol*, *Tolouſe*, *Provence*, and *Wirtemberg*, were very illuſtrious; but I know alſo that the Countreys of *Burgundy*, *Bavaria*, and *Lorraine*, did anciently bear ſometimes the title of Kingdom, ſometimes of Dukedom, and that the latter imported no leſs authority then the other. The Princes of *Poland*, *Hungary*, and *Bohemia*, who are at this time great Kings, did for many ages bear no more then the quality of Duke: Nay, ſome Provinces in *Spain* were governed by Dukes a thouſand years before the birth of Chriſt;

Christ; and when that Countrey was assaulted by the *Carthaginians*, and afterwards by the *Romans*, it was vigorously defended by the same Dukes, who were Soverain and independent. From whence you may judge, that the title of Duke was almost equal to that of King, before ever there were any Counts; and so conclude, that albeit in certain Countreys and times the title of Duke hath been somewhat abased, yet it was never inferior to that of Count, but alwayes greater.

P. The Counts Palatine and the Marquisse of *Brandenburg* are nevertheless as much, or more then the greatest Dukes in *Germany*.

G. I agree with you; but that derogates nothing from the title of Duke in general, forasmuch as those Princes are not barely Counts, but Counts Palatine, Margraves, and Electors; and as such, placed amongst the first Princes of the Empire.

P. I am satisfied; and having seen that a Duke is, and alwayes was greater then a Count, I beseech you declare unto me those of the Empire: But before we go any further, tell me whether you think that true which some Writers affirm, that a Duke should have four Counts under him.

G. I have just now demonstrated unto you, that a Count was alwayes less then a Duke: But I esteem it a mere dream, and a folly below a discoursing soul to resolve, that an Emperor

peror ſhould have under him four Kingdoms, a King four Dutchies, a Duke four Counties, a Count four Baronies, a Baron four Caſtellanies, and a Caſtellan four Fiefs. Thoſe maxims of Quaternions ſhould be expelled out of your thoughts as ridiculous: Otherwiſe all they that have four Kingdoms would be Emperors; and the Emperor loſing one of thoſe four which he had, would ceaſe to be Emperor. Beſides all Kingdoms are not equal; and it would require a great many ſuch Kingdoms as *Valencia*, *Murcia*, *Grenada*, *Algarvia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Ivica*, and *Tuetor*, to make one great King. And on the other ſide, if any one could have three Kingdoms equal to that of *France* in richneſs of ſoil, abundance of People, and number of Nobility, he might equalize the greateſt Emperors; and the Count of *Champagne*, to whom ſeven other Counts did homage, would almoſt double the proportion of a Duke.

P. Having ſeen in your former diſcourſe the force of the Latin word *Comes*, and the Dutch *Grave*, together with all its compounds, and other things which I deſired to know concerning the Counts in general; you will oblige me now, to come in particular to the Counts of the Empire, and tell me what was their original, what their power is at preſent, and what their dignity.

G. *Stephanus Paſchalis*, a famous ſearcher of

of Antiquity, saith there were as many, nay more Counts then Cities in *Gaule*, when the French made themselves masters of it; and that the Conquerors desiring to use their new Kingdom favourably, and give a subdued People no cause of complaint, kept up all the offices and commands which the Romans had introduced amongst them. The Laws of *Charlemagne* and of his son *Lewis* the *Debonaire* are full of the order which the Counts were to observe in the administration of justice. From whence you may gather, that the Counts of those times were not raised to such a height of Dignity as they are now.

P. If the Counts were but Judges, who usually are such no longer then their Prince pleaseth; how came it to pass that they made themselves masters of the lands which were under their Jurisdiction?

G. Though the Emperors had power to deprive the Counts of their Offices, yet for the most part they let them enjoy them during their lives; and if they had any sons capable to succeed them, they were preferred before any other: And that they might be the better enabled to attend upon the administration of Justice, and defend the People when need should require, the Emperors granted them Fiefs within the Territory of their Jurisdiction, which Fiefs gave them opportunity to make themselves Masters of all the rest, and to transmit the same unto their heirs.

P. Is

P. Is it long ſince the Counts made their Counties hereditary?

G. It is hard to ſay under what Emperor that remarkable change hapned in the Empire; but it is probable that it was under the Deſcendants of *Charlemagne*, in the time when *Charles* the Bald and his ſon *Lewis* the Stammerer made their reſidence in *France*, and were at variance with the ſons of *Lewis Germanicus* their kinsmen, who ſaid the Imperial dignity belonged to them.

P. By what you have hitherto ſaid I can ſufficiently comprehend what was the power of the ancient Counts: Do me the kindneſs to tell me what that is they have at preſent.

G. I do not believe it is your deſire to know what Rents, Fortreſſes, Cities, or Subjects every Count hath; much leſs, what they might be able to do all together: For it would be impoſſible for me to anſwer you. Imagining then that you only ask, what place they have in the Aſſemblies, and after what manner they give their ſuffrages there, I anſwer, that they ſit immediately next after the Princes, and that they have two voices, one for the Bench of *Wetteravia*, the other for that of *Swaben*. For the reſt, in their particular Meetings every one hath his voice, and being agreed, they make choice of one out of their Body to carry their opinion unto the Colledge of the Princes.

P. Have all the Counts right to ſit in the general Aſſemblies? G. They

G. They only that are Estates of the Empire enjoy that priviledge; and those that are not inscribed in the Matriculation-Roll, nor contribute any thing to the necessities, nor have any land immediately held of the Empire, are absolutely excluded from thence.

P. Seeing the Counts that the Emperor makes in his hereditary Provinces, are not admitted into the Assemblies, there will be but few that have place there.

G. There were more formerly then at this time, because some Counties have been erected into Principalities, and many are swallowed up into the power of the Princes. *Tyrol*, *Henneberg*, *Montbeliard*, *Tubing*, *Oldenbourg*, *Spanheim*, and *Weldents*, belong to the Houses of *Austria*, *Saxony*, *Wirtemberg*, *Holstein*, and the *Palatine*: *Schawenbourg*, *Hohenzollern*, and *East-Friseland*, have been made Principalities, the two first by *Ferdinand* II. and the last by *Ferdinand* III. who having Reigned twenty years almost in continual trouble, entred into the rest of the Blessed, the 2. of *April* in this present year 1657. Now those Lords taking place among the Princes, encrease their number and power by the diminution of that of the Counts.

P. Are all those Counts, whose lands have not been erected into Principalities, of the same condition and dignity?

G. To provide a satisfactory answer to your question

question, you must know, there be three sorts of Counts in *Germany*, not comprising those of *Austria*. The first are Estates of the Empire, as well in regard of their persons, as of their Fiefs; the second having one or more Lands holding immediately of the Empire, and by reason thereof being Estates of the Empire, do also hold a Fief of some particular Prince, in regard whereof they are his Subjects, and obliged to do him some service: The third sort have no Fief holding immediately of the Empire, and consequently no place in the Diets. And thus some have more interest in the benefit and affairs of the Empire then others, and seem to be of a higher condition.

P. All the Immediate Counts of the Empire are like so many little Kings, and pay but very few acknowledgements to the Emperor. Many of them coyn money, and exercise other Regalities, whereby they draw near to the rank and condition of Princes; and for that cause the very Electors are not thought to marry below themselves when they take such Countesses to be their Wives: I do not know whether it be so or no when they take others.

G. It is certain that the Electors have married Immediate Countesses; and I think they might have married others without wronging their posterity. There are some Counts who are Subjects, and yet have born the quality of Princes for a long time, being no way inferior

to the greatest. I shall not bring many examples of it, since it will be sufficient to make you confess this truth, when I tell you, that if a Prince should marry a Countess of *Egmont* or of *Horn*, he would do nothing contrary to his Dignity, although those Counts were Subjects to the Duke of *Burgundy*; because the first were Dukes of *Guelderland*, and the other are of the House of *Montmorancy*, which is the prime Family of *France*.

P. Give me a list of the Counts that have session in the Diets of the Empire.

G. I shall reckon you those that are come to my knowledge, and place them after the order of the Alphabet, for fear I should offend against that of their rank. *Badembourg*, *Buby*, *Bentheim*, *Bramersdorf*, *Castel*, *Delmenhorst*, *Eichemberg*, *Erbach*, *Eberstein*, *Furstemberg*, *Glerchem*, *Hanau*, *Helfenstein*, *Hohehobi*, or *Holach*, *Hohengeroldseck*, *Hohenlandsberg*, *Kirchemberg*, *Lewenstein*, *Limbourg*, *Lupfen*, *Leiningen* of *Absperg*, *Lippe*, *Mansfeld*, *Montfort*, *Nassau*, *Oldenbourg*, *Ottingen*, *Ortenbourg*, *Reitpolskirchem*, *Rhingraves*, *Reuss*, *Salme*, *Saym*, *Solmes*, *Sults*, *Schwartzbourg*, *Stolberg*, *Tenguen*, *Waldek*, *Walpourg*, *Wied*, *Winteberg*, *Wolkenstein*; *Zimberen*. The Counts of *Schwartzbourg* hold lands in Fee of the Dukes of *Saxony*; those of *Waldek*, of the Landgrave of *Hesse*; and the *Rhingraves* acknowledge the dependance of *Salme* and *Mo-*

ran

rage upon the Duke of *Lorraine*.

P. I do not believe you can give me so exact a relation of all these Counts, as you have done of the Princes; but if you know any thing concerning them, you will do me a pleasure to impart it to me.

G. I have used my uttermost endeavour to get a Genealogy of the Counts, but could never compass it, because for the most part they are ignorant themselves of the root of their own Houses. So that I know but very little; yet if you desire it, I shall acquaint you with what I know.

P. Tell me something of the House of *Nassau*.

G. I intended to have spoken of the Lords of that House in another place; yet reserving liberty to insist upon them, when we shall discourse of the Republick of *Holland* (in the establishment and preservation whereof they have had the greatest hand) I shall tell you, that some there be who seek the Origin of that House in *Cesars* Commentaries, where he speaks of one *Nassua* a Prince of *Suevia*: Others would have it come from *Rome* with the same Emperor, and say he gave them the County of *Nassau*. The most incredulous find it illustrious in the Empire many ages since; and cannot deny but that *Otho* Count of *Nassau*, son to *John* and nephew to *Eberhard*, was General of the Army of the Emperor *Hen-*

77 the Fowler against the *Hungarians*, and then he dyed and was buried at *Noremberg*. At that time it had been long in possession of the Castle of *Nassau* in the Countrey of *Hesse* upon the river of *Dessa*, near the place where the *Mosselle* falls into the *Rhine*. A little while after another *Otho* son to *Walderam* II. having married the heiress of *Guelderland*, was made the first Count thereof by the Emperor *Henry* IV. *A. D.* 1079. and his Successors possessed it in the quality of Counts till the year 1339. at which time the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* made *Reinold* of *Nassau* Duke of *Guelderland*. A little after, that Branch was totally extinguished, and the Principality of *Guelderland* was united to that of *Juliers*. The House continued howsoever potent in lands and number of great personages: For *Walderam* II. left *Walderam* III. (from whom came the Emperor *Adolph*, and the Branch of *Sarbrug*) and *Otho* III. from whom are descended the Prince of *Orange*, and the Counts of *Nassau*, *Breda* and *Dilembourg*, who are great in number and consideration.

P. I know that House hath produced Heroical spirits that have made the world understand the King of *Spain* was not invincible; and that *William*, *Maurice* and *Frederick Henry* of *Nassau* stopt his Chariot when he was driving apace to the Universal Monarchy. Tell me something of their Alliances.

G. The

G. There are few Houses in *Europe* which are not allyed to that of *Nassau*. *Otho* married the heiress of *Guelderland*, and brought that County into his House, as that of *Zutphen* also in the year 1079. Another *Otho* was husband to *Adelais*, who brought him the County of *Viande*, and the Baronies of St. *Vit* and *Grumberg*, about the year 1350. *Enguilbert* grandchild to *Otho* took to wife the heiress of *Breda*; *John* married *Anne* Countess of *Catzenelleboguen*, by whom he was Count of *Dietz*; and *Henry* son to *John* married *Claudina* of *Chaalons*, upon whom he begat *Renatus* the universal heir to *Philibert* of *Chaalons* Prince of *Orange*: Now *Renatus* leaving no children by *Anne* daughter to *Antony* Duke of *Lorraine*, had for the Successor of his whole estate *William* of *Nassau*, who was Founder of the Commonwealth of *Holland*. That Prince had four wives: *Anne* of *Egmont* Countess of *Barc*, *Anne* daughter to *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, *Charlotta* of *Bourbon* Dutchess of *Montpensier*, and *Loüyse* of *Coligni*: His daughters were married to *William Lewis* Count of *Nassau*, *Emanuel* son to *Antony* King of *Portugal*, *Philip* Count of *Hohenlohe*, *Frederick* IV. Elector Palatine, *Henry de la Tour* Duke of *Bouillon*, *Claude de la Trimouille* Duke of *Toüars*, and *Philip* Count of *Hanau*.

P. I did not think that House was so well allied.

G. *Philip William* eldeſt ſon to the ſaid *William* married a ſiſter of the Prince of *Conde*: And *William* ſon to *Frederick Henry* his youngeſt ſon (while he was in minority) was married unto *Mary* eldeſt daughter to *Charles* I. King of Great *Britain*. *John* brother to *William* had three Wives, and amongſt them *Cungonde* daughter to *Frederick* III. Elector Palatine. *John* who was husband to *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Holſtein*, and *Erneſt Caſimir* to *Sophia* Dutcheſs of *Brunſwick*. The Counts of *Naſſau* are alſo very highly allied: *Lewis* married *Anne Amelia*, and *John Sibyll Magdalen*, both daughters to *George Frederick* Marquiſs of *Baden*. From whence you may eaſily ſee, that there be few Princes ſo well allied as thoſe of *Naſſau*. Laſtly, thoſe of *Sarbrug* do ſtill bear the title of Count, and all the reſt that of Prince.

P. That which you have told me of the Houſe of *Naſſau* encreaſes the deſire I have to know the other Counts. Give ſome particulars concerning thoſe of *Hohenzolleren*.

G. We ſaid ſomething of them when we were ſpeaking of the Princes; to which I now adde, that *Eitel Frederick*, who was living in the year 1202. married *Elizabeth* daughter to *Adelbert* Count of *Habſpourg*, the Emperor *Rodolph* I. his own ſiſter; from whom the Electors of *Brandenbourg* and the Counts of *Hohenzolleren* are deſcended. *Frederick* the Blaci

is very famous for his military exploits, and *Justus Nicolas* for re-edifying the Fort of *Hohenzalleren*, which had been ruined by *Henrietta* Countess of *Wirtemberg* and *Montbeliard*: That action was the more illustrious, because *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Albert* Elector of *Brandenbourg*, *Albert* Duke of *Austria*, and *Charles* Marquis of *Baden*, laid the first stone of it, using a Tray, a Trowel, and a Mallet, all of Silver, about the year 1480. The Lords of that House are Hereditary Chamberlains to the Emperor since the time of *Maximilian* I. who to recompense the services of *Eitel Frederick* VII. of that name, honoured him with that Office to him and his Successors.

P. The House of *Furstemberg* is very renowned in History; I would gladly know something of it.

G. Those Lords were grown very illustrious in the time of *Henry* the Fowler, to whom *Lewis* Count of *Freibourg* and *Furstemberg* performed great services, maintaining at his own charge threescore men at arms against the *Huns*; and he was a party in the *Turnament* held at *Magdebourg* in the year 935. He was son to *Frederick* and to *Agnes* daughter to a King of *Scotland*; and from him are descended all those that at this time bear the name and arms of *Furstemberg*. *Conrade* son to *Egon* and to *Agnes* Dutchess of *Zeringuen*, being Bishop of *Losanna* and Cardinal of the title of

St. *Ruffina*, was chosen Pope, and refused it.

P. There are more to be found that sollicite for the Popedom, then that reject it when it is offered.

G. *Egon* brother to *Conrade* added to his other titles that of Count of *Aurach*, and his Successors enjoyed it till about the year 1441. at which time that County past into the House of *Wirtemberg*. *Henry* V. accompanied the Emperor *Frederick* III. when he went to be Crowned at *Rome*; *Henry* his son dyed at *Tournay* in the service of the Emperor *Maximilian* I. And *William* son to *Conrade* is celebrated in the History of *France* for having served and disserved King *Francis* I. To conclude, all those that are living at present, are descended from *Frederick* and *Anne* Countess of *Heclehemberg*, who left two sons, *Christopher* and *Joachim*: From the first come, *Elizabeth* the worthy Spouse of *Frederick* Marquis of *Baden Dourlach*; *Eleanor*, married to *John Eusebius Fugger* Count of *Kirksberg*; *John Maximilian*, *Frebemus Maria*, *John Martin*, and *Frances* a young Lady still, and of extraordinary beauty. From *Joachim* are descended *Francis Egon* Canon of *Collen* and *Strasbourg*, great Steward, great Chamberlain, and Counsellor of State to the Elector of *Collen*; *Herman Egon*, and *William Egon*, both Churchmen; *Mary Frances* widow to *William* Palatine and Duke of *Newbourg*; and *Ferdinand*

Frede-

Frederick Egon, Counsellor, Chamberlain, and Captain of the Halberdiers Guard to the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. This Count was born *February* 6. 1623. and communicated his Genealogy to me upon the ending of the year 1654.

P. I should be glad that you would run through all the Houses of the Counts of the Empire, that I might know them well; but seeing that is impossible, I shall content my self with what you will be pleased to tell me of them.

G. I will tell you what I know; but that will be no great matter. The Counts of *Barby* are allied to the Dukes of *Brunswick*, and to the Princes of *Anhalt* and *East-Friseland*; they use the title of Noble Lords. Those of *Castel* are as ancient as the Empire in *Germany*; they are of the chiefest persons of *Franconia*, fruitful in vertue, great in merit, happy in alliance, soverain in their Justice, and might raise envy in many, though they had none but *Wolfgang George*, President of the Council of State, and great Steward of the Court of *Wirtemberg*, a most excellent pattern of piety, justice, and integrity. The Counts of *Oldenbourg* and of *Delmenhorst* are totally extinguished by the death of *Antony Gunther*, who having made his name known amongst all the greatest Princes, and secured his lands by the great number of Horses which he gave away, to save himself from losing 1200. breeding Mares which he had

had in his grounds, dyed without children lawfully begotten in the year 1656. at least, if I may believe the *Gazette*, where I read it, though some men do not agree to it. The King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Holstein*, inherited his Counties; *John* Prince of *Anhalt*, the Lordship of *Iever*; and *Antony* Count of *Oldenbourg* his natural son, all the rest of his lands. Those of *Erbach* find their original in the affection which a daughter of *Charlemagne* bore to a Gentleman in her Fathers Court, who being recommended by his own merit, as much as he was favoured by the generosity of *Charles*, had the honour to marry her, after he had had that of being carried upon her back through the Court of the Palace. The Counts of *Hanau* have as large an estate as a great Prince, and in that a Justice from which their Subjects cannot appeal: And having often both given and taken daughters to and from the best Houses of the Empire, they have been so happy as to see a noble Lady of their family steer the State of *Hesse*, and bring it succesfully into the Port during the most dreadful storm that ever blew upon the Empire for many ages.

P. You pass many Houses over in silence.

G. Those of which I say nothing, are unknown to me. The Counts of *Helfenstein*, having flourished above a thousand years, expired some years since. Those of *Leiningen* judge their Subjects causes without any Appeal.

The

The Houſe of *Hohenlohe* would be very mighty, if it had not divided its lands into many portions: The Lords thereof are naturally ſouldiers, brave, well made both in body and mind, and glorious as well through their own merit, as for that of their Anceſtors. The Barons of *Limbourg*, whom all Writers place amongſt the Counts, have a title of *Semperfrey*, always free, that no body bears but they: They are ſo ancient, that they know not their own beginning; and ſo well known in *Germany*, that their priviledge of being Vicars to the King of *Bohemia* Great Cup-bearer of the Empire, is obvious to every one. They of *Manſfeld* are of different Religions: One of the Catholiques is Governor of *Raab* in *Hungary*, the other is Maſter of the Horſe to the Emperor: Of the *Lutherans*, *John George* is travelling to enable himſelf to anſwer the hopes which his Countrey conceives of his vertue. This County is plentiful in Copper and other Minerals, and famous for many things, but eſpecially for *Eiſeliben* where Doctor *Luther* was born in the year 1484. and dyed there 63. years after. The Counts of *Montfort* have nothing common with thoſe in *France*, but the name; they are certainly very noble, very ancient, and very vertuous.

P. If you ſay nothing of the Counts of *Ottinguen* and of the *Rhingraves*, I will tell you what I know of them.

G. I speak of the Counts in an Alphabetical method, not always suitable to their merit, otherwise many should have come behind those Houses so abounding in extraordinary personages. That of *Ottinguen* is divided into two principal Branches: That of *Waldenstein* is Catholique, that of *Ottinguen* Lutheran, and both perfectly well allied; but specially *Joachim Ernest*, who having already had one Countess of *Solmes*, and another of *Hohenlohe*, is in the last place married to a Princess Palatine; and had of the two former, besides many sweet children, *Sophia Margaret*, and *Mary Dorothy Sophia*, Princesses whose graces and endowments of body and mind have acquired, to the first the chast love and conjugal bed of *Albert* Marquis of *Brandenbourg* of *Anspach*; to the second, that of *Eberhard* Duke of *Wirtemberg*; and to the Father, two Sons-in-law equal in Grandeur, piety, and magnificence. The *Rhingraves* have furnished matter to so many Histories ancient and modern, that no body is a stranger to their vertue, nobility, and generosity. The Counts of *Schwartzbourg* are great in riches, vertue and alliances: When I passed through their Countrey, *Clara* Dutchess of *Brunswick*, and *Sophia Agnes* Princess of *Anhalt*, were widows to two Lords of that House; and *Antony Gunther* had a Princess Palatine. Many believe the Counts of *Solmes* are issued out of those of *Nassau*: They are not rich,

rich, but you will meet with few Lords so well allyed. *Frederick Henry* Prince of *Orange*, the honour of the Captains of our age, had the generous *Amelia*; *Joachim Ernest* Marquis of *Brandenbourg* had the Phenix of beauty and chastity, *Sophia*; *Frederick* Marquis of *Dourlach*, the incomparable *Eleonor*; *Augustus* Prince of *Anhalt*, the pious *Sibyll*; *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the amiable *Sophia Dorothy*; *Maurice* Landgrave of *Hesse*, the fair *Agnes*; and *Ernest* his son hath at this time *Mary Eleonor*, all Countesses of *Solmes*. From whence we may conclude, that this House is fruitful in beautiful and vertuous Ladies.

P. I would willingly have heard a word of the Counts of *Salme* and *Stolberg*; but if you find it difficult, pass on to the consideration of the Barons of the Empire.

G. The Counts of *Salme* were raised to the rank of Princes, though their lands be held of the Duke of *Lorraine*: They are *Rhingraves*, and all the *Rhingraves* bear the name and Arms of *Salme*. They of *Stolberg* are inferior to none either in antiquity of Nobility, or greatness of Alliances, or priviledges: They coyn money both of gold and silver, and bear for their Arms a Stag Sable, because one of the ancient Counts of that House giving an entertainment of hunting to the Emperor *Conrade* of *Franconia*, a black Stag was taken, and the Emperor would transmit the memory thereof

thereof to posterity by that change of Arms. As to the Barons, you ought to know that they who are Estates of the Empire, do hardly differ from the Counts but in name: In all things else they are equal; they marry their daughters, they are in the same Classe at the Diets of the Empire, they give their Suffrages there after the same manner, and enjoy the same immunities; lastly they are both alike styled Illustrious.

P. Methinks we have a great many Barons in *Germany*.

G. There are but few Barons of the Empire: To be such an one, it is necessary to be Matriculated, and contribute to the necessities of the State; which belongs not to any one of those whom the Emperor creates upon a new score in his hereditary Countreys, how rich and potent soever they be: And for that cause they have neither voice nor place in the Assemblies of the Empire. Many of the ancient Barons have taken the quality of Count; those which remain are *Creange*, *Fleckenstein*, *Fugger*, *Hohengeroldseck*, *Konigseck*, *Limbourg*, *Maxelrein*, *Perlestein*, *Plaven*, *Rapolstein*, *Schombourg*, *Schenk* of *Tautemberg*, *Wolfenstein*, *Winemberg*, *Walbot*, and it may be some others that are not come to my knowledge. Part of those of *Creange* are Counts; but the others are not inferior to them, being allyed even to Princes, and very near to the Houses

of

of *Naſſau* and the *Rhingraves*: They of *Fleckenſtein* have ſignalized themſelves in the laſt War, where they got honour, and ſerved in the quality of Generals: The *Fuggers* are not very ancient, but remarkable for vertue, and for their priviledge of Soverain Juſtice upon their Lands. The Barons or Counts of *Rapolſtein*, who are otherwiſe called *Ribaupierre*, were Dukes of *Spoleto*; and having lived many ages with ſplendor, and appeared at ſeveral Turnaments, are now reduced to *John Iames*, to whom I wiſh iſſue male, for the preſervation of his illuſtrious Houſe, which will otherwiſe end in him. All the reſt are unknown to me.

P. It is ſomething to be Baron of the Empire, in regard of the place they have in the Aſſemblies; otherwiſe I think there is but little difference between one Baron and another.

G. They that bear the ſame title, are not alwayes of the ſame condition: One who hath been declared Doctor in an Univerſity where no man is received but he that hath given proof of his learning, is to be preferred before him who hath gotten Letters in another Univerſity for a piece of money. And ſo it is in this matter: They that are Barons by merit, and are allyed to great Families for many generations, are and ought to be preferred before thoſe that have not the like advantages. Otherwiſe, I do not think that for having place in the Diets one is much

much to be preferred before another that is equal in vertue, merit, and antiquity.

P. I am of your opinion: But from whence comes the word Baron?

G. I think it was derived from the Latin *Vir*; for as *Baron* signifies a personage illustrious for virtue and birth, so also the Latin word *Vir* signifies a man separate and distinct from the vulgar by his *Virtue*. Now this title hath been diversly taken according to the diversity of times and places. By the *Barons* were anciently understood in *France* all the Subjects that held immediately of the King; and so the word comprehended Dukes, Counts, and other Lords indifferently. This opinion may be verified out of *Aymonius*, and some other Historians, who sometimes bring in the King speaking to the Lords his followers, and when he would exhort them to some generous action, beginning with these words, *My Barons*. The *Spaniards* speaking of some illustrious persons, call them *Varones* or *Barones*: And therefore *Lewis de Camoes* in his description of the Conquest of the *Indies* by the *Portugueses*, begins his Poem in this manner, *As armas e os Varoens assinalados*. The *Italians* only do sometimes take the word *Baron* for a beggarly fellow.

P. Have not the *Italians* Barons also amongst them?

G. Yes, more then Baronies; and it may be they are beggars, because there are so many of

of them. However it be, Barons are every where reckoned above the lowest rate and rank of Nobility, except by abuse some one have been raised to that degree who was not a Gentleman before: In which case, I think the ancient Nobility ought not to give him place, nor he to pretend to it; because the Letters Patent which a Secretary of the Emperor puts into a piece of Parchment, are not of such validity as to make those worthy of that rank, who are obnoxious to such notable defects. And though the Emperor himself should have commanded his Letters to be dispatched, yet were it not to be presumed that he intended to raise an Upstart above him that brought the right of precedence from his mothers womb.

P. There is not the meanest Baron, but thinks himself more then the highest Gentleman.

G. Usually men flatter themselves, and set a greater value upon themselves then they really deserve. Even Philosophers take their own measures amiss; and the greatest Saints had need to pray earnestly, and say from their heart, Lord, make me to know both my self and Thee; that knowing my self, I may be humble, and knowing Thee, I may magnifie thy Name: Grant that we may all know our selves; banish out of our hearts that common vain pretense to place and precedence; teach us to neglect that honour which shines not but

in the smoke of vanity. Certainly it troubles *Germany* more then any other Countrey in *Europe*.

The end of the Seventh Dialogue.

Dialogue VIII.

Of the Knights, the Gentlemen, the Turnaments, and the Cities of the Empire.

P. TO see the title of this Dialogue, one would judge that you put a difference between the Knight and the Gentleman; and yet throughout all *Germany* the Nobility goes under the name of Knighthood, and the Gentlemen writing in Latin style themselves *Equites*, that is, Knights.

G. Though German Gentlemen be called *Equites* in Latin, yet it is certain there is difference between the Knight and the Gentleman: For first, the Knight hath been alwayes more priviledged then the Gentleman: 2. The chance of birth makes the Gentleman, without his contributing any thing to it; but worth and valour

valour raiſes the Knight to that degree of honour. 3. Princes and Lords do not ſeek for the title of a Gentleman, as they do very earneſtly for that of a Knight. And 4. the Gentleman is born ſo, the Knight comes to be ſo, that is, a Gentleman begets a Gentleman, but a Knight begets not a Knight.

P. I have heard ſay, that the ſons of great Princes are Knights from their cradle; which if it be ſo, it may be ſaid, that a Knight begets a Knight.

G. I know the French ſay that the ſons of their Kings are Knights in the very moment of their birth: Nevertheleſs *Lewis* XI. received the Order of Knighthood by the hand of *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* the day of his Inauguration the 16. *Auguſt* 1461. *Francis* I. before the Battel of *Marignan September* 17. 1515. received the ſame honour from *Peter Bayard* a Gentleman of *Dauphiné*, who for his valour was ſurnamed *the Knight without reproach.* And when *William* Count of *Holland* was choſen King of the *Romans*, he would be created Knight before he received the Crown. Whereby it appears, that ſome great Princes thought they were not born Knights: And though I ſhould allow that the ſons of Kings are ſo from their Cradle, it is certain that others are not ſo, ſeeing Princes themſelves do not aſſume that quality, if they have not ſolemnly received that honour.

P. I know that commonly they that are called Knights, are associated into some Order Regular or Secular; but I do not know the difference betwæen those Orders.

G. The Regular Orders have been approved by the Pope under some Rule, and the Secular have been instituted by some other Prince. The former oblige their Knights to the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; the other, only to endeavour and procure the honour and advantage of the Head of their Order. Now as men are received into the number of Knights for their merit, or for the hope which he that bestows that honour hath, that the person admitted will do worthy actions; so a Knight forfeits and becomes deprived of the same honour for the enormous crimes he commits contrary to the expectation of him that received him into the Fellowship of the Order.

P. All Knights are not received after the same manner, nor degraded for the same offence.

G. Into the greatest part of Regular Orders they admit Gentlemen that have attained to the age of 18. years, and consequently before they have given any proof of their merit; and they are degraded for murders basely committed by lying in ambush, or other crimes unworthy of such persons: But Kings admit none into their Orders but those that have performed good and considerable services, and for that cause

a man is oftentimes well in years before he can obtain that honour; of which also he cannot be deprived but for High Treason Divine or Humane, or for notorious cowardize, as having run away from his Colours, and forsaken his Chief.

P. If it be so, there is less honour in being admitted into a Regular then into a Secular Order.

G. I do really think so; because for the obtaining of the latter, it is requisite that a man joyn his own vertue unto that of his Ancestors: And the Order which makes him that is admitted into it Companion of a Soverain, and familiar with his King, hath doubtless something more eminent in it, then that which only makes him brother and Companion of certain Gentlemen.

P. I would willingly know why so many Orders of Knighthood have been instituted.

G. Necessity was the first and principal cause of all those Orders. The Regulars began after *Godfrey* of *Boullion* had taken *Ierusalem*; when some valiant Gentlemen having voluntarily undertaken the defence of the oppressed, the maintenance of Hospitals, the care of Pilgrims, and the securing of the ways, Popes gave them priviledges, and bestowed honours upon them, to draw on others to the same profession: Which is honourable to the Church of *Rome*, as well for the zeal which Catholiques show in

visiting the Holy places, as because all the Nobility also that embraces a Rule, becomes subject to the Pope.

P. Had Kings the same design?

G. Conquerors made Souldiers willing to follow them, by sharing the fruit of their Conquests with them; and when their Successors had not estate enough to reward all the glorious actions and eminent services which Gentlemen did for them, being perswaded that a man of courage values nothing comparably to honours, which distinguish him from other men, they invented those Orders, which without exhausting their Treasure would gain them the Flower of their Subjects, and enflame all others with an extreme desire to make themselves worthy of the same honour. I think it was for that reason, that anciently they created Knights just before the Battel, to make them engage more resolutely; or presently after it, to recompense those that had the greatest hand in the victory.

P. I would know whether there be many Knights in *Germany*.

G. There be Knights of four sorts, who ought to be Princes, Lords or Gentlemen. The Emperor dubs some by touching them lightly upon the shoulder with a naked sword, and saying to them, *Esto miles Dei & Sancti Stephani*, Be a Souldier of God and of St. Stephen; and those wear no Collar, or other mark

mark to distinguish them from other Gentlemen. The Kings of *Spain*, *England*, and *Denmark*, do also send their Order to such Lords as they set most value upon: The first wear the Golden Fleece, the second the Garter, and the third the Elephant enamelled with white, and enchased with a Cross of five great Diamonds. All the other Knights are of the Military Orders of *Prussia*, or *Malta*: The former have the Black Cross, and are named *Teutoniques*; the latter wear a white one, and are called Knights Hospitallers of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*. Heretofore all of the last Order were Catholiques, but there are some of them now that are not so, and possess the Commanderies which the Protestant Princes have not incorporated into their Demesnes. But if you happen to see any German, Suisse, or Hollander wearing the Collar of the Order of St. *Michael*, you may take notice that the most Christian King sometimes confers the honour of that Order upon those that have done him some acceptable service.

P. Do all Emperors and Kings of the Romans make Knights?

G. If they do not, at least they may all do so: And at the Coronation of *Charles* V. there was such an abuse, that all those that would have that honour, received it, although they were not Gentlemen. In our days it hath not been so abused: For when the last

Ferdinand was crowned at *Ratisbon*, he created 28. Knights, the greatest part of them very illustrious both by their birth and merit.

P. Now I see what difference there is between a Knight and a Cavalier: I pray discourse something of the Nobility.

G. There are Countreys in *Europe*, where the Nobility is distinguished into Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen; who all together make one part of the State, and are the Kings right arm, the support of his Crown, and the prop of his authority. It is not so in *Germany*, where the Princes, nay the poorest Lords would take it for an affront to be called Gentlemen: Who, as we have seen before, are absolutely separated from the Body of the Nobility, and have their interest apart.

P. I know already that the Princes are Estates of the Empire, and have no communion with the Nobility: But I would willingly know whether all the Gentlemen of *Germany* make one Body, whether they be equal in priviledges, and whether they mutually assist one another in their necessities.

G. The Nobility of *Germany* is of two sorts: One Immediate, acknowledging none but the Emperor; the other Mediate, that acknowledges the Emperor as Head of the Empire, yet without being exempt from the jurisdiction of another Prince. This latter hath not so much liberty as the former, but is for all that excel-

lent

lent in its degree, there being never a Gentleman in *Germany* that doth not prefer a poor Gentlewoman before a rich Burgers daughter, and wonders at the mixture of different qualities used in other places. But this Body being united only by the ligaments of name and condition, there is little or no help to be expected from one to another.

P. Is the Nobility that depends upon Princes equally priviledged through all the Empire?

G. Nobility being a quality acquired by vertuous actions and eminent services which some Houses have performed to the Prince and State, it is impossible but that there should be some Houses more Noble and better priviledged then others: And although fortune should have more influence then merit upon the dispensing of those qualities, yet the same judgement were still to be made; because Soverains are subject to their passions, rewarding more bountifully, and raising higher some of their servants then others. It happens also that one Prince hath occasion to make use of his Nobility more often then another; and receiving more considerable services from them, he doth also recompense them with greater and more signal benefits.

P. There is no doubt but merit or favour hath made the difference which is found between those Houses that hold in Fee of a particular Prince; But I am perswaded that all the Nobility

Nobility immediately subject to the Empire's equal.

G. I fear your opinion is not right. Many Houses of the immediate Gentlemen are descended from the first Noble personages that accompanied *Henry* the Fowler to the War against the *Huns*, nay that followed *Charlemagne* to the Conquest of *Austria*, *Hungary*, and *Saxony*: And many others coming from other places have been admitted into that Body, being Gentlemen acquainted and habituated in those parts: Lastly, some have been priviledged by the Emperors, and by vertue of their Letters are Matriculated amongst the immediate Gentlemen. Those do all enjoy the same priviledges in appearance, but not in reality: For although these last have right of Session amongst the other Gentlemen, yet they have it not in the Chapters, out of which the Electors of *Mentz*, *Trier*, and *Collen* are made; no, nor in those from whence Bishops and Prelates are taken: Because to have place in those Chapters, it is necessary to prove two and thirty Coats of Nobility by Father and Mother, against which the most severe Critique can make no exception; which is impossible for new-comers, neither indeed dare they pretend to it, knowing there is such difference between Gentlemen.

P. Who are those Immediate Gentlemen, or holding immediately of the Emperor?

G. All

G. All within the Circles of *Swaben*, *Franconia*, the *Rhine*, and the Lower *Alsatia*, who are inscribed in the Matriculation-Roll of the Nobility, and oblige their Subjects to contribute towards the maintenance of Officers ordained for the preservation of the priviledges, immunities, and franchises of that Body; which being remote from its Head, and exposed to the envy of many for the favours it receives of the Emperors, hath need of a Treasure, prudence, and union to support it self.

P. I pray, inform me how the Nobility of those Circles make good the close relation of the Head with the Members, and of the Members amongst themselves.

G. That Nobility is cherished under the special favour and protection of the Emperor, not only for the services they do him (being always forward and ready to advance the Majesty of the Empire, the glory of the Emperor, and the honour of his Crown) but also for the considerable presents they make him when his necessities require. The Emperor on his part doth willingly interpose his care to see that no body oppress his Nobility, because he is glad to have a sure and confident party within those Circles, that acknowledges their liberty to depend upon the preservation of his Majesty. As to what concerns that Nobility in general; the desire of freedom, the common interest, the ambition which they observe in some potent men,

men, and experience which teaches all men that united force is the ſtrongeſt, demonſtrate to the Gentlemen that they are better able to defend themſelves all together then ſingle; which holds them in unity, and diſpoſes them mutually to lend their hands, their heads, and their purſes to one another.

P. The Immediate Nobility being thus one Body, doth it chooſe a Head to take care of all the Members in general, and of every one in particular?

G. Thoſe Gentlemen have made among themſelves a kind of Ariſtocratical Commonwealth; and having divided the Circle of *Swaben* into five parts, that of *Franconia* into ſix, and that of the *Rhine* into three, they have appointed unto every part a Head, whom they call Director in *Swaben* and the Lower *Alſatia*, and Captain of the Nobility in *Franconia* and upon the *Rhine*. This Head doth nothing alone, but by the advice of two or three other choſen Gentlemen (who are given him for aids, and counſel) and of one Doctor to help them when there is occaſion to expound the Laws. He decides differences, prevents Lawſuits, takes up quarrels, and keeps a vigilant eye upon the preſervation of the priviledges and franchiſes of all the Body. *Now* if any Gentleman in particular be wronged, the Director takes his part, and ſupports him with the forces of all his Quarter; and if he be not

ſtrong

ſtrong enough, he calls to his aid all the Nobility of the Circle, nay, of the Three Circles and the Lower *Alſatia*.

P. You repreſent unto me a Free Nobility, as a moſt conſiderable Body whereof the Princes ought to make great account: Do me the favour to tell me more particularly which are thoſe Quarters, and who are the Directors of them.

G. The Quarters of *Swaben* are, the *Danube*, the *Hegau*, *Algau*, and the Lake of *Conſtance*, the *Neckar*, the *Schwartzwald* and *Otthenau*, the *Coquet* and *Creſgau*: Whereof the Directors are, of the two firſt, one of *Ow*, and one of *Holtz*; of the three others, one of *Guemingnen*, and two of the Houſe of *Sleim*. The Quarters of *Franconia* are, *Odenwald*, the *Mountains*, *Rhen*, and *Verra*; *Sterguerwald*, *Altemuhl*, and *Baunach*: The Captains of which are, one of *Guemingnen*, one of *Streitberg*, one *Schtitz* of *Marts*, one of *Valpſtal*, one of *Eyb*, and one *Truchſez* of *Vetzhauſen*. The Quarters of the *Rhine* are, the Upper and the Lower *Rhine*, and the *Wettgravia*, whereof the Captains are, one *Kuben* of *Catzenellebogen*, one of *Ley*, and one of *Karben*, who is alſo Burgrave of *Fridberg*. The Lower *Alſatia* being but of ſmall compaſs, is not caſt into ſeveral parts. All this Nobility is of one and the ſame mind, when there is queſtion of defending themſelves, and all the Gentlemen

ſtrive

ſtrive who ſhall contribute moſt to the expenſes that are to be made for that end. Here you are to take notice, that the Directors are not always of one and the ſame Family.

P. This Body ſeems to me to be great and formidable: Do you know how many Houſes or Families it comprehends, and how many Gentlemen it might be able to bring into the field?

G. I do not know, neither perchance do they know it themſelves: For although every part hath a Secretary, who by Letter invites all thoſe that are to meet together, when the Director thinks it fit, for the good of the whole Body, or for the particular affairs of the Quarter; yet they conceal their ſtrength and Revenue as much as they can, not deſiring that any one ſhould penetrate into the myſtery of their Corporation.

P. I would willingly know, whether the Office of Director be worth any great matter to him that poſſeſſes it, and whether none but Gentlemen be admitted into that Body.

G. The Directors of the Nobility have more honour and pains then profit, by being Heads to ſo great and generous Bodies; but as honour is preferable before any other advantage, there be few but are willing to take the pains that comes along with it. But no man is admitted to the enjoyment of the priviledges of the Nobility, nor taken into the protection of it, unleſs

unleſs he be noble or ennobled: And ſtranger Counts and Barons that have no place in the Aſſemblies of the Empire, take it for an honour to be enrolled in the Matriculation of the Nobility; becauſe all that live within a Princes Territories, are Subject to his Juſtice, if they be not immediate ſubjects of the Empire.

P. Can the Director and his Councel enforce Gentlemen to ſubmit to their Judgement?

G. The Quarters of the Nobility do uſually meet together once a year; and beſides the publick affairs which are debated in thoſe Aſſemblies, they do alſo judge the differences there that happen between the Gentlemen. And when they have judged a thing reaſonable, they entreat the parties to acquieſce therein, and ſo doing to comply with their duty, and prevent Law-ſuits, which nouriſh miſunderſtanding and hatred between thoſe that ſhould love one another, and which might give occaſion to thoſe that look upon the flouriſhing Nobility with an evil eye, to contemn and deſpiſe it. If one of the parties think himſelf wronged, he prayes the Court of the Nobility that they would be pleaſed once more to conſider his right and his reaſons: Wherein they gratifie him, and when that is done, the parties are again entreated to agree; but then if they refuſe to ſubmit to the Judgement, they are permitted one to convent the other before the Imperial Chamber.

P. If

P. If it be so, the Directors of those Quarters have not power to oblige the Nobility to the doing of that which they think just and reasonable.

G. Equals neither ought nor can pretend to any jurisdiction over their equals: Nevertheless it is very rare to meet with a Gentleman there, who doth not yield to and acquiesce in the Judgement of the Assembly, and who had not rather depart with some of his right, then send or go to *Spire*, where suits are spun out to a tedious length.

P. All honest men hate going to Law; and the Nobility should leave that plague to quarrelsom and litigious persons: And indeed I think a true Gentleman had rather talk of war, and be present at assaults and Battels, then discourse of the Orders and Decrees of a Parliament, and be bound to court and cringe to the Judges to get a favourable sentence. Tell me something of the advantages which that Nobility hath.

G. The Franchises and priviledges of Gentlemen of the Empire are great, and in so great number, that it would require a volume to lay them all down in writing. Those which I value the most are, that every well-bred Gentleman may pretend to become Elector or Ecclesiastical Prince, if his Religion do not stand in his way; for the Electors of *Mentz*, *Trier*, and *Collen*, and the Bishops of *Bamberg*, *Wirt-*

Wirtzbourg, *Spire*, *Worthes*, *Conſtance*, *Augsbourg*, and *Eichſtet*, are ordinarily choſen out of this Body. Every Gentleman is as free upon his own lands as the Chiefeſt Lord in the Empire; no man beſides himſelf can impoſe upon his Subjects; there are many Chapters and Nunneries, and other Church preferments, which cannot fall but into the hands of the Nobility: And, which ſurpaſſes all the reſt, he that touches one Gentleman, touches them all; and the Emperors are ſtill ready to favour and ſupport them, thereby to gratifie the Prelates, and have them alwayes at their Devotion.

P. The Mediate Gentlemen, that is, ſuch as do not only depend upon the Emperor; but are alſo under the Jurisdiction of ſome other Prince, have they not right to come into the Chapters you lately mentioned?

G. There are very few or no Canons in the laſt above-named Cathredral Churches, who are not Members of the Free Nobility of the Empire. Other Gentlemen have their advantages, and Churches whereinto they may and ought to admitted, as *Hildeſheim*, *Paderborne*, *Oſnabrug*, *Munſter*, *&c.* And beſides, they are not obliged to appear in Judgement, unleſs the Judge give them a ſummons in writing; the Judge makes them ſit down while he hears them; they are free from paying Toll; they are not put in priſon for debt; and if they be

accuſed of any Crime, they are not to be put to the queſtion or rack; nay, if they be convicted, they cannot be condemned to the Galleys. And ſo in every Countrey Gentlemen have their advantages.

P. Can they that are Subjects to a particular Prince, appear at Turnaments?

G. The Ordinances of that exerciſe do admit thereunto all thoſe that can make proof of their Nobility, not excluding any that have lived in the fear of God and with reputation in the World. So that any Gentleman may and ought to be received thereunto, who is not debarred or kept off by reaſon of ſome Crime.

P. Seeing it is neceſſary to make proof of two and thirty Coats of true Nobility, it is certain that new Gentlemen cannot have entrance: But do you think that Patricians of Cities ſhould be permitted to enjoy that honour, and that great Princes ſhould honour thoſe actions with their perſons?

G. There is no queſtion, but they that begin the Nobility of their Houſes, are excluded from that honour; and that it is allowed to a Patrician of a good and ancient Family to come in, if he renounce all right of Burgerſhip, and promiſe to live Nobly for the time to come. But the unfortunate hurt, which was followed by the death of *Henry* II. King of *France*, ought to ſerve for an example to all Princes, not to expoſe themſelves to that danger.

P. The

P. The misfortune of King *Henry* II. ſhould oblige Great men to wear their Beaver down, and to look carefully to the ſafety of their perſons, but not to hinder them from coming into the Liſts, when they are able of body, and skilful at that exerciſe; which I think was heretofore in very much uſe and credit in *Germany*.

G. Thoſe ſports which the ancient French called *Behourts*, were brought into *Germany* by the Emperor *Henry* the Fowler, who coming from the war of *Hungary* exceedingly ſatisfied with the Nobility, would oblige them to exerciſe themſelves continually in handling their arms and managing their horſes; to which purpoſe he inſtituted thoſe exerciſes in the year 935. Since that time ſo many of them have been held, that they who have written expreſly of them, do forget ſome of them in their reckoning: The firſt was opened at *Magdebourg* in the foreſaid year 935. After that *Rotrembourg*, *Conſtance*, *Mersbourg*, *Brunswick*, *Trier*, *Hall* in *Saxony*, *Augsbourg*, *Gottingnen*, *Collen*, *Nuremberg*, *Wormes* twice, *Wirsbourg* as often, *Ratisbon* four times, *Bamberg* twice, *Stutgard* as often, *Swinfort*, *Ravensbourg*, *Inguelheim*, *Eſlingnen*, *Schaſauſen*, *Darmſtadt*, *Hailbrun*, *Landſhut*, *Mentz*, *Heidelberg*, *Anſpach*, and many other places have been honoured with the like Aſſemblies.

P. Being taught by you, that *Henry* I. was

the Introductor of these sports into *Germany*, I would gladly learn who celebrated the rest.

G. The Emperor *Henry* the Fowler celebrated the first: The three *Otho's* that succeeded him, had other matters to think on: *Conrade* II. and *Henry* III. and IV. celebrated each of them one of those that next followed, and gave licence to the Princes, Cities, and Free Nobility, to appoint and celebrate the like: So almost all the Turnaments were opened at the request and charges of particular Princes, the Imperial Cities, and the Nobility.

P. How comes it to pass that this Exercise is almost totally abolished?

G. Those sports being not alwayes free from emulation and jealousie, because every one desired to make a better appearance there then his fellow, it hapned at the three and twentieth Turnament, which was held at *Darmstadt* in the year 1403. that the Gentlemen of *Franconia* and those of *Hesse* drew so much blood upon one another, that there remained dead upon the place seventeen of the former, and nine of the latter. And yet some have been celebrated since; but either that jealousie, or the wars which suffer not men to think on such pastimes, or other causes to me unknown, have absolutely banisht those Exercises; by means whereof the Nobility was powerfully attracted to vertue, and obliged to accomplish and per-

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fect themſelves in all kind of Chivalry.

P. I believe that as none but Illuſtrious or Noble perſons entred into thoſe Turnaments, the number alſo of the Knights and Squires was limited.

G. They confined the number of parties allowed to appear, for fear it might otherwiſe grow too great; and to avoid the confuſion which would ariſe from too many Maſters and Servants: For that cauſe, and in regard every mans charges were born there, beſides that they would admit no new Nobility, no Baſtard, no Uſurer, none guilty of High Treaſon, no Oppreſſor of Widows and Orphans, none born of Parents whereof one was of baſe extraction and ignoble, no Heretique, Murderer, Traytor, no Coward that had run away from the Battel, nor indiſcreet perſon that had given offence to Ladies by word or deed; they did alſo refuſe to admit more then one of the ſame Family at a time. Princes came into the Liſts with four Squires apiece, Counts and Barons with three, a Knight with two, and a Gentleman with one.

P. It may be thoſe Exerciſes will be ſet up again in their priſtine honour; and in caſe that ſhould come to paſs, I would gladly know what a man ſhould do to be admitted thereunto, and how he ought to behave himſelf being come into the Liſts.

G. The place and hour for the Turnament

being resolved, they that had a desire to break a Lance there, came thither at the time appointed, and went to the Presidents Lodging to have their names written down; which was done in the presence of three Heralds, to whom the Champion delivered his Helmet and Sword, and after he had been at Confession, he presented himself in the Lists with one, two, three, or four Squires, according to the quality of the persons. The horses of the Combatants were to be without fault or exception, the Caparisons and furniture such as to give no offence, their Saddles without any extraordinary raising before or behind, and all equal. After which, they performed all kind of exercises on horseback; and when the Jousts were ended, every man repaired to the President of his Nation, to wait for the sentence of the Judges: And he that had best deserved the Prize, received it, either from the hand of some Lady, or from the Prince that gave it.

P. If the Emperor should ever have a desire to see the skill and sufficiency of his Nobility in that way, I would endeavour to make one there; and though that should never come to pass, I will howsoever take pains to make myself a good Horseman. Now since we have discoursed enough concerning Turnaments, tell me what you know of the Cities of the Empire.

G. All the Cities of *Germany* are either free

or

or subject, or partly free and partly subject. Those of the first sort acknowledge none but the Emperor, are Estates of the Empire, and participate in the right of Soverainty; the second depend upon Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen, give respect to their Orders, and obedience to their Justice; the last are those which having been subject, have obtained some priviledges from the Emperor, from their Princes, or by their swords: And though they be almost Free, yet have they neither voice nor place in the Assemblies, nor do they quietly enjoy their pretended priviledges. These Cities being rich and potent, make bad use of their power, endeavouring to shake off the yoke of obedience which they owe to their Masters, to whom they give very little respect, but try their uttermost to make themselves Imperial Cities. Such are *Brunswick*, *Erfort*, and *Embden*, which have evermore some matter or other of dispute; the first with the Duke of *Brunswick*, the second with the Elector of *Mentz*, and *Embden* with the Princes of *East-Frisland*.

P. I imagine that the Cities belonging to Princes are neither so wealthy nor so fair as the Imperial.

G. That rule doth not alwayes hold: There are some Imperial Cities to be found of no great consequence, as *Fridberg*, *Aalen*, *Weiler*, *Gueminde*, *Biberac*, *Dunkelspiel*, and several others;

on the the contrary there are divers Cities subject to Princes, surpassing in beauty, magnificent in buildings, and considerable for riches, as *Munchen*, *Ingolstadt*, *Dresden*, *Wirsbourg*, *Mentz*, *Magdebourg*, *Bamberg*, *Stutgard*, and *Lunebourg*; but they have not the same right which those lesser places we last mentioned enjoy.

P. I have often heard say, that the Cities of *Germany* are neither so ancient, nor of so fair structure as in other Countreys.

G. Many good Antiquaries assure us, that the Cities on the East-side of the *Rhine* were built about the time of the Emperor *Henry* I. but those very Authors say, that the City of *Trier* is one of the Ancientest in *Europe*, and that *Strasbourg*, *Wormes*, and *Spire* flourished before the time of *Julius Cæsar*. As for the beauty and number of Cities, our *Germany* yields to no Province in *Europe*. The *Italians* who for the most part undervalue all that is on the other side of the *Alpes* from them, cannot deny us that prerogative; and *John Botero* confesses, that for that matter we may give them fifteen and a bisque, using these words to that purpose, *I Thedeschi avanzano di gran lunga i Romani*. And I am sure that the Constable of *Castille*, who to disgrace the greatness and magnificence of *Paris* told *Mareschal d'Ornano*, that he had left behind him the fairest Cities in *Christendom*; would have changed his opinion if

if he had seen *Germany*, and been forced to acknowledge in his heart (though according to the Spanish vapours he would not have expresst it with his mouth) that there is nothing in *Spain* equal to *Antwerp*, *Amsterdam*, *Hamburg*, *Collen*, *Nuremberg*, *Strasbourg*, *Erfort*, and *Augsbourg*.

P. If the Cities of *Germany* excell all others in beauty, then they are inferior to them in nothing; for *Bocalini* esteems them without comparison richer then those in other places, when he saith that *Laurence de Medicis* going about to weigh them, the balance wherein he had already weighed all the Estates of Christendom, broke, not being able to bear so great a burthen. But I suppose the houses of Great men are not so embellished in *Germany* as in Forain Countreys.

G. I pray, be of another mind; for when you have seen all *Europe*, you will confess that the Cities and Castles where the Princes and Prelates of *Germany* make their residence, are so stately in buildings, so delicious in gardens, so artificial in Grots, so abounding in Fountains, flowers, fruits, and even Orange-trees, that there is nothing comparable to be seen elsewhere. The Elector of *Bavaria* is lodged at *Munchen* in the faireſt Palace of *Europe*; the Archbishop of *Saltzbourg* hath no reason to wish for those at *Rome*; the Bishop of *Bamberg* hath seen nothing more recreative then

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his own Gardens; *Heidelberg* hath one of the proudeſt buildings, *Stutgardt* one of the moſt commodious, *Caſſel* one of the moſt regular, *Wirsbourg* one of the ſtrongeſt, and *Plone* one of the moſt delightful that can be ſeen. *Wolfenbottel* is a true ſeat for a Prince, *Berlin* for a King, *Dreſden* for an Emperor, and *Munchen* for a God on earth. *Weymar*, *Gotta*, *Gottorf*, *Cel*, *Baden*, *Anſpach*, *Dourlach*, and *Echingen*, are very little inferior to the faireſt in *Europe*.

P. I am glad to hear that our Countrey hath an advantage of other Provinces in Cities, Caſtles, and Gardens, as well as in civility. Tell me a word of the Free Cities.

G. I do not think you require a Catalogue of the Imperial Cities: Nevertheleſs if you have ſuch a deſire, you ſhall find them here, of every one whereof I ſhall ſay ſomething in an Alphabetical order. *Aix*, which the Latins call *Aquisgranum*, from the hot and holeſome Baths that *Granus* brother to the Emperor *Nero* found there, is the place where *De Serres* ſaith that *Charlemagne* was born, and where all Hiſtorians agree that he lyes buried. Many ſay, that Heroical perſon made this City the Metropolis of the Empire on this ſide the *Alps*, and it may be for that reaſon it is ſtyled *the Royal City*. The Golden Bull ordains that the Emperor receive the firſt Crown there; and if he take that honour in another place, they bring the Royal ornaments from thence, with

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the *Persian* sword which Great *Charles* wore by his side, and with which the Emperor creates Knights.

P. I believe the Emperor *Charlemagne* indulged that City so much, because it stands in a place from whence he might commodiously look after the Government of both his Kingdoms, *France* and *Germany*.

G. I think so too. *Argentina*, so named from the silver or money brought thither from all parts, as to the Custom-house which the Romans setled there, is now called *Strasbourg*. This City is very populous, strong, and well built: The Church there is one of the wonders of the world, for the bigness thereof, the sumptuousness of its building, the marvellous height of its Steeples all made with through-lights, and its inimitable structure. There are two and twenty Tribes, which have every one an Eschevin or Alderman, out of whom they choose the Consul whom they call *Ammeister*, who joyntly with the Aldermen elects Ten Gentlemen of the City to be Senators, and all together make up the Senat. They take four of those Ten Gentlemen to be *Statmeisters* or Prætors, who at debates ask the voices, first of the Consul, and then of the other Senators. The Office of the Consul is annual, and cannot be possessed by any Gentleman; that of the Aldermen is for two years. The Senat consisting of thirteen, and the Councel of fifteen, are perpe-

perpetual. The first treats of Confederations and Military affairs, the latter hath power to exhort the Consul, if he fail in his duty. The Arsenal of this City is provided with so great a quantity of all sorts of Canon, Pikes, Muskets, Halberds, Partisans, Swords, Bucklers, Pistols, Head-pieces, Back and-brests, Gantlets, Vambraces, and other Arms as well offensive as defensive, that there be few of the like to be seen any where else.

P. I have read in *Limnæus* that this City hath many priviledges, and that the Nobility had the administration of it till the year 1332. I would willingly know something of *Augsbourg*.

G. *Augsbourg* by abbreviation from *Augusti Burgum*, that is, the City of *Augustus*, was so called, because *Augustus* setled a Roman Colony there, after *Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus* had brought it in subjection to the Roman Empire. This City was anciently called *Drusomagus*, and afterwards *Augusta Tiberia*, but now *Augusta Vindelicorum*. It is so well built, that it comes not short of any one in *Europe*; and the Guild or Town-house is a Palace worthy to lodge the Emperor. In the year 1368. the People took the administration of affairs out of the hands of the *Patricians*, which *Charles* V. restored to them again 180. years after.

P. This City is very famous for its magnificence,

ence, and Goldsmiths work; but *Aalen* and *Biberac* are not considerable: Therefore let us see *Collen*.

G. As for *Aalen*, you must know it is but a little hole, where there are not above thirty Burgers, which belonged heretofore to the Counts of *Wirtemberg*, and was lost during that War which *Eberhard* the Riotous waged with the Cities of *Swaben*.

Collen is the *Rome* of *Germany*, and the Capital City of the *Ubians*: It is called *Colonia Agrippina*, because *Marcus Agrippa* subdued it to the Romans, or because *Agrippina*, daughter to *Germanicus* and Wife to *Claudius*, was born there. That Lady was very lascivious, and it is said that the women of this Town use but little modesty when they are in the Baths. It is an Imperial City, and yet does homage to the Archbishop in these terms; *We Free Burgers of* Collen, *to day for to day, and for the days hereafter promise to N. Archbishop of* Collen *to be faithful and favourable unto him as long as he preserves us in right and honour, and in our ancient priviledges, us, our Wives, our children, and our City of* Collen: *So help us God and his Saints.* And the Archbishop obliges himself to the said City after this manner; *We by the grace of God Archbishop of the holy Church of* Collen, *Elector and Arch-Chancellor of the Empire throughout* Italy, *to the end there may be between us and our dear Burgers and the City of* Collen

Collen *an amiable confederation, entire confidence, and sincere peace, and that the same may remain inviolable; do make known by these presents, that we have promised and assured, and do promise and assure, in good faith and without fraud, that we confirm all the rights and franchises, written or unwritten, old or new, within and without the City of* Collen, *which have been granted unto it by Popes, Emperors, Kings, & by Archbishops of* Collen, *and will never violate or infringe the same: In witness whereof we have caused the Seal of our Arms to be put unto these presents, the,* &c. Now the Senat makes process in criminal causes, and the Elector hath right to condemn or to free offenders.

P. If you say so much of all the Imperial Cities, it will be long before we make an end. Do me the favour to pass lightly over the rest.

G. *Campidunum*, which the Germans call *Kempten*, was the ordinary residence of the ancient Dukes of *Swaben*, and the native place of *Hildegardis* daughter to *Hildebrand* Duke of *Swaben* and wife to *Charlemagne*. *Colmar* is a good City of *Alsatia*, where *Berthe* mother to *Charlemagne*, and *Adelais* his daughter, have founded many Monasteries. *Donavert* was a Free City till the year 1607. at which time the Burgers endeavouring to hinder the Catholiques from burying a Corps with the ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, it incurred the Imperial *Ban* or Proscription, which was executed

ted by the Duke of *Bavaria*, who brought it into subjection, and holds it still under his Laws. *Dunkelspiel* hath been so often taken and re-taken in the last Wars, that it will carry the marks thereof a great while. *Eslingnen* is a pretty Town upon the *Neckar*, within the Dutchy and under the protection of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; to whom it sends every first day of the year a hundred Florins of gold in a green velvet purse for the honour he doth them in being their Protector.

P. If I be not mistaken, this City hath been honoured with the celebration of some Turnament.

G. Not with a Turnament only, but also with an Imperial Diet: And produces great store of excellent Wine. *Francfort*, which was anciently called *Tentoburgum* and *Hellenopolis*, signifies the passage or Ford of the *Franks*, and was so termed, because it served them for a retreat, when they went into, and came back from *Gaule*. This City is renowned for its Fairs, for the Article of the Golden Bull which ordains that the King of the Romans should be chosen there, for its Fortress, and for the river of *Mein*, which parts it into two Towns, whereof one retains the old name, and the other is called *Saxenhausen*.

P. You have told me elsewhere, that that clause of the Golden Bull is not observed, and that many Kings of the Romans have been elected in other places.

G. That

G. That is true; but yet the Town is very considerable for all that. The Religion professed there is of two sorts, and the Jews drive a great Trade amongst them. *Fridberg*, a very small City in *Wetteravia*, had not above 60. Burgers when I passed that way; but it hath great priviledges. There is a Castle near it, the Lords whereof are called Burgraves. *Gnemunde*, which seems to signifie *Gaudia Mundi*, the joys of the world, in regard of the Turnaments or other pastimes which the Lords of *Swaben* have heretofore given their friends there, is entirely Catholique, and an Imperial City since the death of *Conradine* who was beheaded at *Naples*. *Goslar*, a City of *Hircynia*, was fortified in the year 1207. The Castle is called the Imperial Palace, and the Town the Royal City, because the Kings of *Germany* were wont to make their aboad there, and some Emperors have honoured it with their residence. *Gnelnehausen* after the same manner as *Fridberg* hath City and Castle, and place in the Assemblies, though the Electors Palatine use their utter most endeavour to bring it under their subjection.

P. I wonder how these petty places are able to maintain their liberty.

G. They are supported by others; and the Emperor would not willingly see Princes make themselves Masters of them. *Hagunau*, a City of *Alsatia*, is Head of a Bailywick that comprehends

prehends the Imperial Cities of *Colmar*, *Selestad*, *Weissembourg*, *Landau*, *Oberhenheim*, *Rosherim*, *Munster* in the valley of St. *Gregory*, *Keichersberg*, and *Turgkeim*. This Bailywick was given to the most Christian King, with its appurtenances, and the right which the House of *Austria* had to it heretofore. This City was very much a favourite to the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, who caused it to be walled about, after he had built a house there for himself, and six for the principal Gentlemen belonging to his Hunting, which the Lords of *Flekenstein*, *Durcheim*, and some others do still hold in Fee of the Empire.

P. I think the Lords of *Durcheim* are your kinsmen.

G. *Margaret* of *Rottembourg*, a Gentlewoman of a very ancient family in Lower *Alsatia*, was married to *John Albert* of *Anweil*, of which marriage came *Anne Margaret* of *Anweil* my wife, by whose means I find my self allied to the Houses of *Anweil*, *Rottembourg*, *Scheling*, *Welward*, *Spest*, *Durcheim*, *Sturfel*, *Dalbourg*, *Bernehausen*, *Flekenstein*, *Stein*, and many others. But this is besides our purpose. *Hambourg*, situate upon the *Elbe*, where the reflux of the Sea makes a good Port, is one of the richest Cities in *Germany*, the greatest in *Vandalia*, and the best fortified in *Europe*. It doth ordinarily maintain a thousand Souldiers; and for a time of necessity it

hath 15000. Burgers listed in fifty Companies. Trade is exceeding quick there, by reason of the river which joyns it to the Sea, and a multitude of *Portuguese* Jews who have liberty of conscience there. This City hath been subject to several Lords, but at last it is become free, notwithstanding all that the Duke of *Holstein* could do, or the King of *Denmark*, who hath built *Glugstadt*, and a Fort in the river to annoy and incommodate the City of *Hambourg*.

P. The neighbourhood of the *Swedes* may entrench much upon their liberty.

G. The Crown of *Sweden* hath the possession of *Stade*, near the river of *Elbe*; and the King of *Denmark* hath *Glugstadt* on the other side of the same river: So that if those two Kings should conspire to ruine *Hambourg*, it would be in great danger; but it is sheltered under the jealousie that is between those two Crowns. Although this City be indeed so prodigiously rich, that if the Kings should agree together, it is probable the Senat would be able to guard themselves, and preserve their liberty, by the expense of their Treasure. And questionless if *Hambourg* make good use of its own strength, and the friendship of those that are concerned for its preservation, it hath no cause to fear: For the King of *Denmark* and the Duke of *Holstein* apprehending the *Swede*, will be always glad to fortifie themselves by the good affection and forces of *Hambourg* and *Lubeck*,

Lubeck, which are as ſo many Bulwarks to their States.

P. Is *Lubeck* alſo in the entrance of the *Cimbrique Cherſoneſe*?

G. Theſe Cities are not far diſtant from one another: They have the ſame intereſt; and are powerful, *Hambourg* upon the Ocean, and *Lubeck* upon the Balthique Sea, in the entrance of the *Cimbrique Cherſoneſe*, which contains the Dutchies of *Holſtein*, *Schleſwick*, *Stormar*, and *Dithmarſh*, with the Countrey of *Jutland*. The City of *Lubeck* was built by *Adolph* Count of *Holſtein* in the time of the Emperor *Conrade* III. and a little after, it was taken by *Henry Leo* Duke of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, who founded a Biſhoprick there, as I have read over the Gates of the Caſtle of *Eutin*, the place where the Biſhop reſides. After the death of that *Henry*, it returned to its firſt Maſter, and paſſed from him into the power of *Canute* King of *Denmark*; but the *Danes* being overcome in the time of the Emperor *Frederick* II. it became an Imperial City, and enjoys that priviledge to this day. When it began, it was of no great conſequence; but now it is large, fair, and potent by land, and by water too, the river *Drave* encreaſing its Trade, and giving it opportunity to put great ſtore of ſhipping to Sea.

P. If the King of *Denmark* had the command of theſe two Cities, it would enable him to at-

tempt upon his neighbours: For I have heard say, that *Hambourg* hath a vast Revenue, and that these two Cities can set out above 200. Ships.

G. No man hath every thing that he desires; and few Countreys have all that they stand in need of; one wants Corn, another Wine, a third Salt, or something else. But now we speak of Salt, *Hall* in *Swaben* hath three Salt-pits where they make a great quantity. *Hailbrun* is an Imperial City, and yet pays the Tenth of its Wine and Grain to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*. *Kaufbegeren* was so called, because it bought its liberty for 15000. Livres of the Emperor *Conrade* II. *Landau*, seated near the mountain *Vogesus* on the French side of the *Rhine*, was mortgaged by the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and afterwards redeemed and enfranchised by *Maximilian* I. *Lindau* was heretofore a Convent, then a Village, and at last a City, subject at first to the Lady *Abbesse*, afterwards to the Duke of *Swaben*, and finally to the Emperor, who hath given it the priviledge of coyning money. This City stands upon an Island in the Lake of *Constance*, and is joyned to the firm-land by a bridge 290. paces long.

P. This place is exceeding strong, being so remote from land.

G. I believe it is; and indeed the *Swedes* hovered thereabout in vain, watching to have surprised

surprised it. *Memingen* is very ancient, and at this time well known for the Almanacks of *Schoret*. *Mulhausen* is abundant in Gardinage and Mills; become famous also for the folly of *Thomas Muncerus*, who preached there, exciting the Countrey people to rebellion, which occasioned the ruine of many: For that Impostor, holding forth that all things ought to be common, had drawn an infinite number of people from their labour and husbandry.

P. I have observed in *Sleidan*, that many false Prophets arose about the time that Doctor *Luther* undertook the Reformation of the Church, and that this *Muncerus* was one of the most seditious.

G. His folly cost him his head, with the lives of *Pfeifer* his companion, and a great many poor wretches more. But let us continue to reckon up the Cities; amongst which you may take notice, that *Nuremberg* is one of the fairest, most priviledged, richest, and best governed in *Europe*. The *Patricians* are the chiefest men there, and of 42. persons of whom the Senate is composed, there are but eight taken out of the *Plebeians*. The new chosen Emperor ought to hold his first Diet there. This City keeps many of the ornaments used at the Coronation of the Emperors, and there is to be seen the Royal Crown, about which there is a Mitre enriched with numberless Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds and Pearls; and on the

forepart thereof a Croſs of Diamonds of very great value; the Dalmatique Gown of *Charlemagne* embroidered with huge Pearls; the Imperial Cloak ſet all over with Eagles embroidered, the border whereof is full of great Emeralds, Diamonds, Sapphires, and Chryſolites; the Buskins covered with plates of gold; the Gloves embroidered with precious ſtones; the Ball, golden Sceptre, and Sword which the Electors bear in Ceremony. But there is evermore ſome jealouſie between the Marquiſſes of *Brandenbourg* and this City; the Burgers whereof have the power to impriſon their children, and to caſt them alive into the river.

P. That is a ſtrange priviledge indeed, and which ought to keep children in the reſpect they owe their parents.

G. *Nortlinguen* is neither ſo big, nor ſo wealthy, but it is peopled with inhabitants perfectly martial, and its name is known every where, becauſe of the Battel which the *Swedes* loſt there *September* 6. 1634. *Northauſen* hath often had Imperial Aſſemblies held in it, and *Henry* Landgrave of *Thuringia* kept a Turnament there. *Ratisbon*, which the Latines anciently called *Auguſta Tiberia*, is famous for having as many Churches as there are days in a year, and five Eſtates of the Empire within her walls; but more, becauſe Diets are often held there, and becauſe while the Empire was aſſembled there, General *Bannier* went thither to make a Bravado in the year 1632. P. If

P. It was an act of great confidence, but he got very little by it.

G. Generals do some actions now and then that show more gallantry then judgement, and sometimes they meet with a bound and check to their victories before a weak place. In the year 1643. the French lost before *Rotwil Mareschal Guebriant*, whose person was more worth to *France* then the taking of twenty such Towns. It is the seat of a Presidial Court; and served for a retreat to the *Cimbri*, after they had been beaten by the Romans. *Reutlinguen* is not great, but exceedingly priviledged: It received *Luthers* Reformation from the time he began to preach; and as *Eslinguen*, it is under the protection of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*. *Rottemboung* upon the *Tauber* was put into the number of Imperial Cities after the Reign of *Frederick* I. *Seleſtadt* is one of the Cities within the Bailywick of *Haguenau*. *Schweinfort* is a fair and strong City, and was in the hands of the *Swedes* when the Peace was made in the year 1648.

P. Methinks you forget *Spire*.

G. I do not forget it, but leave it out in this place, because we shall speak of it when we come to treat of the Justice of the Empire. *Uberlinguen* was honoured with the residence of the Dukes of *Swaben*, and is situate upon the Lake of *Constance*. *Ulme* belonged formerly to the Abbey of *Reichenau*, of which it bought its

liberty: It is a ſtrong and rich City. *Vangus* is a ſmall Town of *Swaben*, where there grows excellent red Wine. *Veiſſembourg* received great priviledges from *Dagobert* King of *France*. *Vecler* is a little hole rather then a City, the inhabitants whereof are good Souldiers, and the only Catholiques in the Dutchy of *Wirtemburg*. *Veinſhein* was founded by *Vindegaſt* General to *Pharamond* King of *France A. D.* 425. *Wormis* was deſtroyed by *Attila*, and re-edified by *Clovis* King of *France*. And *Winſelan*, ſignifying as much the German word *Weibſpris*, becauſe there the *Huns* committed unheard of cruelties upon that Sex, ſtands within the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg* upon the *Neckar*; where *April* 17. 1622. fortune triumphed over valour, and *Magnus* Duke of *Wirtemberg* died in the Battel; wherein alſo *George Frederick* Marquiſs of *Dourlach* taught us by his defeat, that forces and reſolution are not ſufficient to gain the victory, if God do not give a bleſſing to them.

P. Will you not tell me whether there be any difference between the Cities you now mentioned, and the Hanſe-towns?

G. *Bodin* writes, that the Hanſeatique Cities are Imperial; but the greateſt part of them are not ſo. Thoſe Cities are 64. 80. or 83. which for the good of Trade entred into a Confederation in the time of the Emperor *Frederick* II. and ſetled one *Staple* at *London* in the year 1250.

1250. another at *Bruges*, which a little afterwards was transferred to *Antwerp*, *A.D.* 1262. The third was eſtabliſhed at *Novograd* a rich City in *Ruſſia*, then at *Revel* in *Livonia*, and laſtly at *Nerva*, and the fourth at *Berg* in *Norway*. Heretofore the Confederates met once a year at *Lubeck*, to take their meaſures and reſolve their affairs there, but now that Confederation is of little uſe to the advancement of Trade, ſince every City doth their own buſineſs apart.

The end of the Eighth Dialogue.

Dialogue IX.

Of the Univerſities, the Juſtice, and the Diets of the Empire.

P. LEarning being one of the principal ornaments of man, and one of the pillars of the Commonwealth, I beſeech you tell me whether it be eſteemed in *Germany* as it was heretofore in *Greece* and *Italy*.

G. There were never ſo many learned men in the world as at this time, and there is never a Countrey in *Europe* where there are more, nor

nor more famous Universities then we have in *Germany*. All Princes have founded some, and strive who should maintain them the best; because they know them to be the Universal remedies against an infinite number of evils which ignorance and idleness bring into the World. They are not so ancient in this Countrey as in *England*, *France*, and *Italy*; but they are more magnificent, better ordered, and fitted with Doctors, and furnished with Scholars. We read that *Charles* IV. Emperor, and King of *Bohemia*, having founded the University of *Prague*, gave equal priviledges to the *Bohemians*, *Polanders*, and *Germans*; and when he would retrench his favours towards strangers, there went out of the Town in a weeks time 24000. Scholars, and a little after 16000. more: Whereby you may judge, that there were more Scholars in *Prague*, then other persons in some great City.

P. If I did not know that you flatter no body, but love truth above all things, I should hardly believe there were ever so many Scholars in *Germany*, as you say there went out of *Prague*.

G. The last War hath so drained our Empire of men and money, that I do not believe all *Germany* maintains so many Students at this time, as there were at *Prague* in the year 1409. when they reckoned 44000. Scholars under the Rectorship of *John Hus*. Neither would it be thought

thought ſtrange that a War of 30. years, during which time the Muſes durſt not appear any where, ſhould have exhauſted the Empire both of Maſters and Scholars: Yet the Chairs of 32. Univerſities reſound every day with the moſt ſacred notions of Divinity, the moſt equitable of Civil Law, the moſt ſalubrious of Phyſick, the moſt ſublime of Metaphyſicks, the moſt ſolid of Natural Philoſophy, the moſt recreative of Mathematicks, the moſt prudential of Politicks, the moſt ſubtile of Logick, the moſt perſwaſive of Rhetorick, and the moſt pleaſing of Poetry.

P. Is it poſſible there ſhould be ſo many Univerſities in *Germany*?

G. There are no leſs: For Princes ſeeing that riches had infected the Cloyſters with lazineſs, and that the Sciences which heretofore ſeemed to be wholly confined within them, were baniſhed from them; being deſirous to preſerve that Treaſure which doth marvellouſly contribute to the glory of God, the honour of the Prince, and the peace of the Provinces, they founded ſo many of them, that *Juſtus Lipſius* ſaith, there are more Univerſities in *Germany* then in all Chriſtendom beſide.

P. You believe that Learning is uſeful to keep the people in quiet; and many men think, that the Study of Divinity hath occaſioned the growth of Hereſies, as that of the Law hath produced multitudes of Controverſies and

Suits

Suits which were unknown in the time of our Anceſtors, and that of Phyſick ſerves but to ſhorten our lives.

G. As an evil ſtomach turns the beſt food into putrifaction, ſo a corrupt ſoul changes vertue into vice and light into darkneſs Divinity is a ſacred Science, which fights with and overcomes Hereſies; the Civil Law is the rule of Right, which maintains Juſtice, and baniſhes quarrels from amongſt men; and Phyſick teaches the vertues of Minerals and vegetables, whereby the ſound may preſerve the health they enjoy, and the ſick recover that which they have loſt. If then Divines breed Hereſies, Lawyers proceſſes, and Phyſicians diſeaſes, it is not the fault of the Profeſſion, but of the Profeſſors, who abuſing their knowledge do convert the goodneſs thereof into evil.

P. You will confeſs, there were fewer Hereſies, Law-ſuits, and diſeaſes, when there were not ſo many Univerſities in *Europe*.

G. The world growing old, becomes ſo much worſe and worſe, that if the Ancients ſhould live again, they would be aſtoniſhed to ſee the corruption of our age. The Hereſies and ſuits in Law which you ſee, are the fruits of humane malice; and diſeaſes are the effects of Navigations and avarice, which have made men deſpiſe and hazard their lives to find out Sugar, Pepper, Cloves, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, and other Spices that were unknown to the ancients;

ancients; who through that ignorance lived more piously, more healthfully, and longer then we do. Ascribe then (if you please) the Original of Heresies, Law-suits, and diseases, to mans covetousnes which hath discovered the *Indies*, and not to Universities, which oppose them, and had destroyed them too, if impiety, gluttony, and drunkennes did not entertain and keep them amongst us.

P. I suppose you count the Universities of the Low Countreys among those of *Germany*, otherwise there would not be so many; and yet the *Germans* make scruple to acknowledge them for Doctors who have taken their degree at *Leyden*, *Francker*, *Groninguen*, and *Utrecht*.

G. The Low Countreys being part of *Germany*, it is reasonable that I rank their Universities among those of the Empire; and I think they have good title to that honour, because that of *Doway* was founded by *Philip* II. King of *Spain A. D.* 1562. that of *Leyden* was instituted by the States of *Holland* and by *William* Prince of *Orange*, 1575. That of *Francker* was established by the States of *Friseland*, 1581. That of *Groningnen*, 1614. and lastly that of *Utrecht*, 1636. As for the first, there is no doubt but a King of *Spain* hath right to found Universities; and the others having been founded in a time when the Soverainty of the States was still under dispute, some question might

might justly be made whether they had power to give those priviledges which accompany the honour of Doctorship: But now that all *Europe* acknowledges them for Soverains, no man can make any more question of it And indeed the States General have so great care to procure eminent Professors for their Universities, that Youth cannot but learn all kind of vertues there, and ought to repair thither, though they could not receive the Doctoral Cap in those places.

P. The Universities of *Switzerland*, of *Marpurg*, *Altorf*, and *Strasbourg*, are of no greater antiquity then those of the Low Countreys: But because those men that administer Justice are commonly taken out of the Universities, I think it not amiss that you tell me something of those in the Empire.

G. All the Universities in the Low Countreys are not so new. That of *Lovain* began in the year 926. Afterwards *John* Duke of *Brabant* bestowed great priviledges upon it; then it was confirmed by Pope *Martin* V. and at this time in the judgement of *John Becanus* there are none in *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, that are so magnificent, and send forth so many excellent personages. As to your question, I shall tell you, that in the Empire every Prince, Count, and Lord hath within his own Lands High, Middle, and Low Justice, which in some Principalities passes a definitive sentence without

our Appeal, and in others unto a certain ſum, above which they may appeal to the Imperial Chamber.

P. I know that every Lord adminiſters Juſtice to his own ſubjects within his Territories; but I would learn of you, where addreſſes were made heretofore, and where they are made now, to obtain right againſt Illuſtrious perſons, as well touching Eccleſiaſtical as Secular affairs,

G. In the time of *Charlemagne* and ſome of his Succeſſors, the Biſhops and Officers of the Crown, joyntly with the Emperor, decided all Eccleſiaſtical cauſes: The Prelates, Counts, and other perſons of quality were convented at the firſt inſtance before the Imperial Court; the Secular Princes could not be judged but in the Diets where the Emperor preſides. If there were any complaints to be made againſt the adminiſtrations of the Emperors, it was done in the ſame Aſſemblies; and when the matter deſerved it, they might depoſe them, but only with the general conſent of all thoſe that had right to ſit there. So it happened to *Lewis* the *Debonaire* in the year 838. to *Charles* the Groſſe, 887. and ſome ages after, to *Henry* IV. *Otho* IV. and *Frederick* II.

P. I remember you have ſaid ſomewhere elſe, that the Electors only have the right of chooſing and depoſing the Emperors.

G. Things here below do never continue in the

the same state; and the Electors being arrived to a very great power, assumed to themselves alone the authority of Electing and deposing the Emperors, though in the beginning it were not so. But all dignities run in the same strain: Popes heretofore acknowledged they held their greatness of the liberality of *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*; yet a little after the death of the latter they lifted up their hornes; *Gregory* IV. would have excommunicated *Lewis* the *Debonaire*; *Nicholas* I. would have done as much to the Emperor *Lotharius*, and *Adrian* to *Charles* the Bald; and they had done it, if they had not found the Clergy and People resolved to oppose their unjust proceedings. But in process of time *Gregory* VII. surpassed all his Predecessors in resolution, and finding a good game put into his hands by the ill will of the Emperors Subjects towards their Soverain, he excommunicated *Henry* IV. and afterwards by the same presumption *Henry* V. *Frederick* I. *Philip*, *Frederick* II. and *Lewis* V. were excommunicated by the Popes.

P. We have seen elsewhere, that the Counts administred Justice to the People within the Provinces, and that appeals might be made from their sentence to the Count Palatine: So that I have nothing more to enquire after, but when & why the Parliament of the Empire became fixt and sedentary, how many Judges there be, & of what matters they take cognizance. G. Law-

G. Law-ſuits growing numerous in proportion to the malice of men, the Court of the Empire was alwayes full of Clients: For which cauſe *Maximilian* I. having compaſſion on them, and deſiring to ſpare both their labour and money, ſetled a ſedentary Parliament at *Worms* or at *Francfort* in the year 1495. which was ſoon after removed to *Spire*, and cannot be withdrawn from thence but by the conſent of all the Eſtates, except in time of Plague or War. The Aſſeſſors were but 16. at the firſt, but the number of them hath been encreaſed to 50. who are nominated by the Head and the principal Members of the Empire. The Emperor names the Judge and four of the principall Officers. The Judge ought to be a Prince or Count, and well skilled in the Civil and Municipal Laws. Every Elector names one Aſſeſſor, and all the reſt are preferred to that employment by the Circles. All theſe perſonages ought to be Gentlemen or Doctors; and as they that name them are Catholiques or Proteſtants, ſo are the Aſſeſſors of different Religions, and judge of all caſes that are in the power of the Emperor.

P. Doth all the Empire make application to this Parliament for juſtice?

G. All appeals go thither; but at the firſt inſtance none go but priviledged perſons, and they too as ſeldom as they can, the greateſt part taking Arbitrators to determine their diffe-

rences, for as much as juſtice is ſo very ſlowly adminiſtred there, as well becauſe there is no other place of Judicature in all the Empire but this Parliament and that of the Imperial Court, as alſo becauſe there is ſuch an infinite number of old ſuits to diſpatch.

P. I find in Hiſtory, that many Controverſies of great importance, wherein Princes were the parties, have been judged by the Emperors, without taking the advice of that Parliament, nay, without ſummoning the parties to the Diets.

G. The firſt of a Family that gets upon the Throne, cannot have ſo little authority, but he eſteems it great; and when Princes of the ſame Houſe bear the Sceptre for a long time together, the greateſt authority ſeems but little to them. From hence it comes to paſs that the preſent Emperors do no more take or expect the conſent of the Eſtates when they have a mind to act or determine againſt the Princes. *Charles* V. did alone proſcribe and by his own authority condemn *John Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip* Landgrave of *Heſſe*. The ſame Emperor did alone decide the controverſie between the ſame Landgrave and the Count of *Naſſau*. *Rodolph* II. took upon himſelf alone the cognizance of the difference that happened betwixt the Pretenders to the Dutchies of *Juliers*, *Cleve*, and *Berg*. *Matthias* rejected the claim and requeſt of the Landgrave *Mo-*

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ner, who at the Diet of *Ratisbon* in the year 1623. prayed his Majesty to allow him Princes for his Judges in the cause between him and the Landgrave *Lewis* his Cousin. And *Ferdinand* II. did alone decide the business between *George Frederick* Marquis of *Baden*, and the heirs of *Edward Fortunatus*. So that matters of great weight are no more decided either at *Spire*, or in the Imperial Diets; but of right they ought to be decided there.

P. Let us see, if you please, to what Justice Church-men are subject.

G. Their Principalities are subject to the Justice of the Emperors, and their persons and Dignities did heretofore acknowledge none but the Pope; but now it is otherwise: For although since the time of *Frederick* II. till the last age no Emperor durst undertake to depose a Bishop, and many Popes have attempted it, and brought it to pass with ease; yet *Charles* V. and his Successors seem to have resumed their power. When that incomparable Prince had proscribed *John* Bishop of *Hildesheim*, the Pope *Paul* III. expresst his displeasure by protesting against it; but it was answered, that it belonged neither to him nor the See of *Rome*, to judge of the validity or invalidity of the Imperial Edict or Proclamation called the *Ban*, and that the Emperor did not care a straw for the sentence which the Pope had given for the re-establishment of the foresaid Bishop. The

ſame Emperor depoſed *Herman* Count of *Wirda* Archbiſhop of *Collen* in the year 1545. without having the Popes conſent for ſo doing. And *Ferdinand* II. cauſed Cardinal *Cleſel* and the Elector of *Trier* to be arreſted, without any fear of incurring the Excommunication wherewith the Bull *De Cœna Domini* threatens thoſe that dare attempt ſuch things.

P. I am very glad that the Emperors recover their authority; but what Juſtice do the Monks and inferior Prieſts obey?

G. The goods of Prieſts ought to contribute ſomething to the neceſſities of the Empire. The perſons of Monks are immediately ſubject to their Priors or Guardians, they to the Provincials, the Provincials to the General of the Order, and he to the Pope. The Secular Prieſts are all under the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, except the Proteſtants, whoſe perſons are ſubject to the Conſiſtory of their Princes, and their goods to the ſame Juſtice as the Seculars.

P. Though you have often made mention of the Aſſemblies of the Empire, I could not meet with an opportunity till now to deſire a ſummary account and information thereof; which I pray you therefore to give me now.

G. All well-governed States have their Aſſemblies, wherein they reſolve matters of importance. The old Romans called theirs *Comitia*; and becauſe ſuffrages were given there by *Tribes* or Wards, *Curia* or Pariſhes, and Centuries,

turies, they added to the general word *Tributa, Curiata, Centuriata*, according as voices were given there. In *Germany* they have general and particular Aſſemblies: The latter are of four kinds; ſome whereof are the *Aſſemblies of the Electors*, others are thoſe of *Deputation*, the third are thoſe *of the Viſitations of the Chamber*, and the laſt are the particular *Aſſemblies of the Circles*.

P. Enlarge your diſcourſe more upon the particular Aſſemblies, before we paſs to the general.

G. When the Electors meet together to chooſe a King of the Romans, their Aſſembly is called *The day of Election*, and then the King of *Bohemia* is not preſent there: And when they meet upon other affairs, that King is not called then neither, though it be ſo ordained by the Golden Bull; becauſe the Electors ſeeing that the Emperor for the moſt part had the Crown of *Bohemia* in his poſſeſſion, they thought it fit to exclude him from thoſe meetings, and have done ſo by the Capitulations drawn up and made with the late Emperors. Theſe Aſſemblies are called *Churfurſen Tag*, that is, Days of the Electors. The Aſſemblies of *Deputation* are held at *Francfort*, to diſpatch that which could not be reſolved in the Diets. The third kind of Aſſembly is for nothing but to viſit the Chamber of *Spire*, that all things may be kept there in good order. The Aſſem-

blies of the *Circles* are made after three manner of ways: 1. When the Directors of all the Circles make a general Congregation, 2. When several Circles appoint a day and place for a meeting, and 3. when the Members of one Circle come together to resolve matters of concernment to the whole Body; for example, the value or other considerations of their coyn, the Contributions which the Circle is obliged to pay, the Assessors which it is to present to the Chamber of *Spire*, the means to preserve peace, and enforce them that refuse to obey their Ordinances.

P. Do me the favour to inform me of the *Diets*, as you have done of the other Assemblies; and instruct me, who, how, when, and where they are convocated, what persons are called thither, after what manner they sit there, how they give their voices, and lastly how they come to resolutions in business.

G. The Emperor only can appoint Diets, and that by consent of the Electors, without which the conclusions there taken are null and void, forasmuch as that consent is the essential form that gives life and vigour to all that is concluded there. And the Emperors have obliged themselves to ask it, by the observation which they promise to the Capitulations offered to every Emperor since *Maximilian* I. The causes for which the Emperor may convocate these Assemblies are, the necessity, the good,

good, and the safety of the Empire. Now the Emperor, when he hath obtained the consent of the Electors, doth not assemble the Diet by a general Ordinance, but by Letters which his Majesty directs in particular to every one of them that are obliged to be present there. In these Letters, wherein is specified the place, and the occasion of calling the Assembly together, his Majesty doth not use the way of Command, but of exhortation and entreaty, although his Predecessors have made use of these terms, *Gebiscen, heissen, befesten*, which signifie to command and enjoyn. The time of continuance is not prefixt but by the necessity of affairs; and it is always lawful and just to call them when need requires.

P. Seeing the consent of the Electors is necessary to the convocation of general Assemblies, the Emperor cannot appoint them alone: But in what place ought they to meet?

G. As to the place where the Diets ought to be held, it is to be noted, that according to *Goldast*, *Constantine* II. ordained that they should be held every year and perpetually at *Arles*; *Charlemagne* having translated the Empire into *France* or *Germany*, would have them at *Mentz*; and *Frederick* II. preferred *Francfort* upon the *Meyn* before that place. The Golden Bull decrees, that the first Diet after the Election of the Emperor shall be held at *Nuremberg*; that none shall ever be called

without the bounds of *Germany*, and that it be always in a convenient place. The Capitulation of *Charles* V. explains and limits that conveniency, saying it ought not to be either higher then *Augsbourg*, or lower then *Collen*. And that being observed, all other circumstances are left to the Emperor, who usually pitches upon an Imperial City, where he may be commodiously received and entertained.

P. That Article was inserted into the Capitulation with *Charles* V. because he had many Principalities out of the Empire, and they were affraid he might have a mind to convocate the Diets in some place out of *Germany*. It seems just however that a place be chosen where those that are called thither may not be very ill accommodated. But who are the persons that are called to the Assemblies?

G. All the Estates of the Empire whom we have formerly mentioned are by the Emperor called to the Diets. It is only to be observed, that he calls the Ecclesiastical Princes thither after they are once elected, though before they have their Bulls from the Pope; that in place of Princes under age, he calls their Guardians who administer their Estates; and that Princes actually Governing are called thither, though they have not yet received Investiture for what they hold in Fee of the Empire. You shall further observe, that in places where the right of Primogeniture prevails, as in *Austria*, *Bavaria*,

nia, *Lorraine*, *Brunſwick*, *Holſtein*, *Heſſe*, *Wirtemberg*, *Baden*, and *Montbeliard*, the Emperor calls none but thoſe that are in poſſeſſion of the Government; and in places where the Principalities are divided into equal ſhares, he calls all that have priviledge to ſit in Diets, as for example, the Dukes of *Weimar*, *Altemburg*, and *Gotta*, who have all voices for their particular Principalities; But if all the divided Eſtates of Princes have but one voice, as the Principality of *Anhalt*, all the Lords together appoint one Deputy. The Emperor doth alſo call thither ſome perſons that have not right of Seſſion; as Count *Papenheim*, who is always preſent there to execute the Office of Vice-Marſhal; And *Charles* V. cauſed Doctor *Luther* to be at the Diet of *Wormes* in the year 1521. And *Rodolph* II. called the Aſſeſſors of *Spire* to that of *Ratisbon*, to give an account of their Judgements and Decrees in the year 1608.

P. What is the Office of Marſhal *Papenheim* at the Diets?

G. The Office of Vice-Marſhal is, 1. To chooſe Lodgings, mark them, and ſet them out for the Princes the moſt commodiouſly that poſſibly may be; 2. To take care that all things neceſſary for the Aſſembly be brought thither, and diſtributed at a juſt price, weight, and meaſure; 3. To ſurvey the Hall or room where the Aſſembly is to be held, and to ſee it

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be adorned and fitted suitable to the Dignity of the persons that are to assist there; 4. To have a special eye and regard to the publick safety; 5. To signifie unto the Princes and other Estates the day and hour when they are to be present at the propounding of affairs, and at debates and consultations, where he also gathers the voices; and lastly, he hath Jurisdiction over strangers that come to that place to sell and retail any commodity; and the women of pleasure that come thither, are obliged to present themselves before him to have their names registred.

P. As far as I perceive, Count *Papenheim's* Office bears a great resemblance with that of Grand Provost of the Household to the King of *France*: But are all the Estates of the Empire obliged to appear in these Assemblies?

G. The Jurisdiction of the Grand Provost of the King of *France* his Household extends five Leagues compass about the place where the King resides; he puts a price upon all that is sold for the use and entertainment of the Court; and in that, as in many other things, he equals or exceeds the authority of *Papenheim*: But that wherein he surpasses him indeed is, that it brings him in 20000. Crowns yearly. As to your question, you must know that all the Princes of the House of *Austria*, and the Duke of *Lorraine*, are called to the Diets, yet go not but when they please.

P. Are

P. Are all the other Estates to assist there in person?

G. All other Lords and Estates, as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, having right of Session, ought to go thither in person, unless they be excused by age, sickness, or other such impediments; in which case they are permitted to send their Ambassadors. Now when I say All, I do not in that generality comprehend the Abbesses, who cannot appear with decency to their Sex; nor the Cities, which cannot be transported: It is sufficient then for the Abbesses and the Cities to send their Deputies to the Diets. The Estates that go thither in person present themselves to the Emperor when he is present, and to his Commissioners when he is absent; and they acquaint the Chancellor of *Mentz* and the Vice-Marshal with their arrival, that they may receive advertisement of the day and hour when the Councel is to be held. The Ambassadors and the Deputies do not present themselves to the Emperor, but to the Elector of *Mentz*, into whose hands they put the Commission or Power by which they are authorized to come.

P. I am sufficiently informed touching the persons that ought to appear at the Diets: Oblige me now to tell me the Order that is observed there.

G. The Emperor usually goes thither first, to the end it may be taken notice of that all

other

other Princes repair to him: On the day appointed for opening the Diet, the Electors, Princes, and Ambassadors come to the Emperors Lodging; and when the Emperor comes forth to go to the place where the Assembly is to be held, all the Ambassadors of absent persons march before in good order two and two, or three and three; after the Princes the Elector of *Trier* walks alone, and directly after him the Elector of *Saxony* carrying the Sword naked, with the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Brandenbourg* at each side, the first bearing the Imperial Ball, and the other the Golden Scepter. Those Electors are immediately followed by the Emperor, who hath on his right hand the Elector of *Mentz*, and on his left him of *Collen*. After the Emperor the King of *Bohemia* goes alone, and after him the Empress when she is in place; and her Majesty is followed by all the Ecclesiastical Princes, who observe the same Order that the Seculars did.

P. I believe it is a very fine sight: But when they are come to the room which Count *Papenheim* hath caused to be furnished as richly as can be, how do they sit?

G. Being entred thereinto, the Emperor seats himself on a Throne raised upon a scaffold covered with rich Tapistry: The Electors sit a degree lower in this order; the Archbishop of *Mentz*, followed by him of *Collen*, and he by the Duke of *Bavaria*, take place on the right

right hand; the King of *Bohemia*, when he is present (which happens very seldom) the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, and the Count *Palatine*, sit on the left: and the Elector of *Trier* directly over against the Emperor. Some say, that when there is a King of the *Romans*, the Elector of *Trier* sits where I said the King of *Bohemia* was to take his place, and the King of the *Romans* in that place which the Golden Bull assigned to the Elector of *Trier*. Others would have the Elector of *Mentz*, King of *Bohemia*, and Count Palatine to sit on the right hand; those of *Collen*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenbourg* on the left; and he of *Trier* right opposite to the Emperor. The other Princes, Prelates, Counts, and Barons, are a degree lower then the Electors; the Ecclesiastiques taking the right hand, and the Seculars the left.

P. There is nothing to be seen so illustrious as those Assemblies; and I fancy that he who hath the honour to speak at the first opening of them, sayes very handsom things.

G. When every one hath taken his place one of the Emperors Counsellors, or a Prince, on whom that charge is imposed, rises up, salutes the Company, and in an excellent discourse gives thanks to all the Assembly, for that in compliance with the Emperors order all those Princes and Lords have freely and cheerfully resorted to that place. After which, his

Majesty

Majesty continuing the Speech, desires the Assembly in few words that they would contribute with all their might, so as their Country may receive the fruit expected from them. That being done, a Secretary reads the Proposition, which usually contains no more then the points which the Emperor touched in his summons of calling the Estates together. After that is read, the Electors, Princes, and Ambassadors rise up, and having conferred together a very little while, one of the company answers the Emperor in the name of all the rest, that by the proposition even now made unto them they understand the importance of the affairs which obliged his Majesty to call the Assembly together; that they know he hath alwayes had, and still hath a very particular care of the publick good, for which they most humbly thank him, assuring him they will do all that lyes in their power for the advantage of the State; and to the end they may more maturely deliberate, they beseech his Majesty to cause a Copy of the Proposition to be delivered to them, and to take their persons and fortunes under the shadow of his protection. The Emperor having heard that discourse, gives command that the Proposition be communicated to them all, exhorts them to give their advice upon every point, and promises them his favour and affection. Which being done, his Majesty goes back again to his Lodging in the same Order as he came.

P. They

P. They ſay that in thoſe Diets there is more time ſpent in regulating of places, then in deliberating upon buſineſs; that ſeldom any thing is reſolved there, and that one Diet alwayes begets another.

G. In *Germany* as well as in other places one equal ſubmits not to another but againſt his will; and the Emperor doth not willingly decide thoſe controverſies, where the ſentence cannot but be diſpleaſing to one of the parties. Now becauſe the taking of places is not regulated in every reſpect, nor perchance will ever be, there ariſeth always ſome ſtop to affairs; which would not happen, if every one were of *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg* his humour, who upon a certain occaſion, where much time was loſt in thoſe vanities, ſaid that they ſhould put him behind the door, ſo they concluded that for which they came together. As to the other branch of your objection, they do rarely reſolve any buſineſs, becauſe it is hard to reduce many heads and different intereſts unto one and the ſame opinion.

P. It were well that every one ſhould know his place, or be leſs concerned for it; but ſince that cannot be, we muſt let thoſe abuſes take their courſe. Tell me now how they ſit when they give their ſuffrages.

G. The Eſtates of the Empire having had ſome time to conſult among themſelves, the Elector of *Mentz* ſends a note to him of *Saxony*, and he

to the Vice-Marshal of the Empire, requiring him to give advertisement unto all whom it may concern to repair the next day unto the place appointed at such an hour in the forenoon: Which order the Vice-Marshal obeys. The Estates having received such notice, meet together every one in their own Classe, whereof there are three: The first is that of the Electors, the second, that of the Princes as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, of the Abbots, Counts, and Barons; the third, of the Imperial or Immediate Cities. The Electors being met together, he of *Mentz* sits at the upper end, those of *Trier* and *Collen* on his right and left hand by turns; they of *Bavaria* and *Brandenbourg* alwayes on the right, and the *Saxon* and *Palatine* alwayes on the left hand.

P. As far as I perceive, the Electors know their places; do not other Princes and Lords know theirs as well?

G. The Golden Bull assigns a certain place to each Elector; but it is not so with the other Lords, no nor with the Imperial Cities, which have alwayes some protestation to make against the wrong they pretend to be done them. The second Classe is distinguisht into two Benches: Upon the first sit the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Abbesses, the Grand Master of the Teutonique Order, the Archdukes, and the Duke of *Burgundy*; upon the second are placed all the Secular Princes, Counts, and Barons

Barons, that have right to sit in those Assemblies. As to those of the first Bench; the Duke of *Burgundy* seldom sends thither; the House of *Austria* take their turns of precedence with the Archbishop of *Saltzbourg*, who is now the only man left of that quality that sits in the Diets; and the Grand Master of the *Teutonick* Order precedes all the Bishops: And further then this, I do not know what Order the Bishops and the Abbots observe in their Session. As to the Secular Princes, the younger sons of the Electoral Houses precede the other Princes, whose manner of sitting hath been sufficiently declared already. The third Classe is that of the Cities, which are also distinguisht into two Branches; the Deputy of *Collen* holds the first rank amongst the Cities of the *Rhine*, and he of *Lutzbon* amongst those of *Swaben*.

P. I can give a near guess of the order observed by the Princes in taking their places; and would now understand how they give their voices.

G. In the first Classe the Elector of *Mentz* takes the voices, proceeding after this manner: He first asks the Elector of *Trier* his opinion, and then him of *Collen*, in the third place of the Duke of *Bavaria*, then of *Saxony*, after of *Brandenbourg*, and lastly, of the Count Palatine. After all which, the Elector of *Saxony* asks him of *Mentz* his suffrage; which is of great importance, because being the last, he

can ſway the Balance to which ſide he thinks good.

P. The Electors have every one a voice in the deliberations: Have other Princes and Lords the like?

G. In the ſecond Claſſe, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Abbeſſes that bear the quality of Princes, the Grand Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order, and the Secular Princes, have for every perſon one or more voices; the other Prelates have two voices amongſt them all, and the Counts with the Barons as many. I ſay there are ſome Princes that have more then one voice, becauſe it happens that one Prince hath more then one Principality, and then he hath as many voices as Immediate Lordſhips to which that right is annext. For example, the King of *Sweden* hath a voice for *Bremen*, for *Verden*, and for *Pomerania* reſpectively; as alſo the Elector of *Brandenbourg* for the ſame *Pomerania*, and for the Principalities of *Halberſtad* and *Minden*. If there were but one Duke of *Brunſwick*, he would have four voices; and one Duke of *Saxony* would have above five or ſix.

P. I think I am skilful enough in this point: Let us proceed to the ſuffrage of the Cities.

G. We have ſeen before, that the third Claſſe is diſtinguiſht into two Benches: The firſt contains all the Free Cities of the *Rhin*, *Alſatia*, *Landfortey*, *Haguenau*, *Wetteravia*, *Saxon*,

Saxony, and *Thuringia*; the other contains all the other Free Cities of *Germany*. The City wherein the general Assembly is held, hath the *Directory*, that is, the Deputy of that City is seated near a Table with some Senators, and a Register or Clerk of each Bench, and gathers the voices, asking the opinion first of the Deputy of *Collen*, then of him of *Ratisbon*; afterwards he returns to the Bench of the *Rhine*, and so to that of *Swaben*, continuing in that manner till he hath done. By which it is easily seen, that there is not the meanest City, but hath a voice amongst the Cities, if it have right to sit amongst them; but they have but two voices for them all together in the Body of the Empire represented compendiously in the Diets.

P. What affairs are treated on in those Assemblies?

G. The matters handled in the Diets are all very important, regarding Religion or the Civil Government; as may be seen in the *Recesse* of the Empire, which contains the resolutions taken in the general Assemblies, and the Ordinances therein made. Here you are to take notice, that in the Assemblies plurality of voices is usually followed in all sorts of business; but because the Catholiques taken in grosse are in greater number and have more voices then the Protestants, it hath been thought necessary for the peace of the Empire, to take an equal num-

ber of persons, when they would decide any thing in matter of Religion, and where scruple of Conscience might strain too hard upon Justice. Which is very useful in a Country where two Religions are permitted, and specially where the parties are almost equal.

P. Having discoursed of the time, the place, and the order of Diets, as also of the person that call them, and of those that ought to meet there, and of the matters there treated on; I pray, tell me how the Conclusions are made.

G. The Conclusion of the Diets is taken as followeth: The Electors having pitched upon a Conclusion amongst them, send it to the Colledge of the Princes, who approve or reject it, and that either in whole or in part, and send back their opinion to the said Electors. Upon this opinion of the Princes the Electors deliberate again, and return their deliberation to the Princes, desiring them to weigh their reasons: if they rest satisfied therewith, the business is done; but if they persist in a contrary opinion, an Appeal is made to the Deputies of the Cities, who sometimes adhere to the opinion of the Electors, and sometimes to that of the Princes; and when they also dissent from both the other Classes (as oftentimes they do) they propose new Conclusions, to which the Electors and the Princes make answer, endeavouring to draw them unto their opinion. These contrarieties are very often longer then were needful,

ful, and then the Emperor exhorts them all to agree, and in all things to prefer the publick before their own private Intereſt. Such exhortation doth oftentimes prevail ſo far, that every one abates a little of his opinion, and comes to an agreement in the whole or in part; and when they conceive that things are brought to as good terms as they can expect, they ſend them to his Majeſty for his approbation. From this difficulty of bringing perſons to be of one mind, whoſe intereſts and deſires are ſo different, proceeds that ordinary ſaying, That one Diet is the mother of another, and from thence alſo come thoſe Aſſemblies of *Deputation* which we have briefly touched before.

P. You forgot at that time to tell me who they are that uſe to ſit in the Aſſemblies of Deputation.

G. There were anciently called thither all the Electors (except the King of *Bohemia*) the Archduke of *Auſtria*, the Biſhops of *Wirtzbourg* and *Munſter*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Abbots of *Weingardt* and *Ochſenhauſen*, the Count of *Furſtemberg*, and the Cities of *Collen* and *Nuremberg*: At this preſent, beſides thoſe above named, there are alſo called the Directors of the Circles of *Swaben* and *Burgundy*, the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Pomerania*, and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*. In theſe Aſſemblies the Emperors Deputy makes the Propoſition to the reſt, who have every man one voice; but

when they are voting upon a Concluſion, all the Electors together have but one voice, and all the other Deputies another.

P. I am well ſatisfied in this point, but your preceding diſcourſe having informed me, that opinions in the Diets are oftentimes ſtiffely and obſtinately held on both ſides, hath left me in a doubt which obligeth me to ask you, whether in caſe the Eſtates cannot agree, the Emperor ſhould have the power to reſolve matters, and decide the controverted difficulties according to his own will.

G. You throw me into a field where Writers fence to the right and to the left, all of them bringing probable reaſons on their ſide. Excuſe me (if you pleaſe) from examining them; for I am of opinion for my own part, that Concluſions ought to proceed by the conſent of the Emperor and the Eſtates together, and that neither the Emperor nor the Eſtates can conclude any thing alone: Nevertheleſs in your caſe, ſubmiſſion ſhould be given to the Emperors judgement; becauſe the obſtinacy of the Eſtates might occaſion dangerous factions, faction Civil Wars, and Civil War the univerſal ruine of the Empire. And moreover, it is to be thought that the Emperor being as a common Father to the Princes and the Eſtates, hath as great a care of their good as of his own.

P. I do confeſs, that in that caſe obedience ſhould be yielded to the Emperors judgement, and

and that ſober and rational men ſhould always chooſe rather to quit a little of their priviledges and immunities, then to kindle a flame in their native Countrey. Let us ſee what is done when the Concluſions are taken.

G. When the Aſſembly is come to an agreement, and the Head hath prevailed upon the Members, or the Members brought the Head to conſent unto their opinion, the reſolutions are ſet down in writing, and ſigned before they be publiſhed. Heretofore the Emperor alone ſigned them, or in his abſence the King of the Romans; afterwards there was added thereunto the Sign and Seal of two Electors, two Princes, one Abbot, one Count, and the Deputy of the City where the Aſſembly was held. At this time the ſigning is as followeth: The *Receſſe*, that is to ſay, the Act being written in parchment, the Emperors Seal is applied below upon two ſmall ſilken cords joyned together, which are then parted in two again to the right ſide and to the left; upon the right-ſide cord there is impreſſed the Elector of *Mentz* his Seal, if he be preſent, or in his abſence one of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors; below that, the Seal of the firſt Eccleſiaſtical Prince there preſent, and of one of the Prelates in the third place: On the left ſide of the Imperial Seal the firſt Secular Elector there preſent puts his, juſt over againſt that of the Elector of *Mentz*; then the Duke of *Bavaria*, or in his

absence the most eminent Secular Prince then present; and in the third place a Count of *Wetteravia* or of *Swaben* by turns: Lastly, the two cords are closed again, and fastned with the Seal of the City where the Assembly is kept. When that is done, the Elector of *Mentz* reads it openly, and then all the Princes and Lords wait upon the Emperor to his Lodging.

P. Are all these formalities absolutely necessary?

G. They are all so necessary, that without them the *Recesse* or Act would not have the power of a Law, nor oblige any one to the observation of it. But I should have told you, that two Originals are drawn, Signed and Sealed in the same manner; one of which is laid up in the Chancery of the Empire, whereof the Elector of *Mentz* hath the custody, and the other in the Chancery of the Emperor: There is also a Copy sent to the Chamber of *Spire*. Here you must take notice, that these Acts are framed and written in the German Tongue, to the end that all the Subjects of the Empire may understand them; neither can they be in any other Language, by an Edict which the Emperor *Rodolph* made to that purpose in the year, 1274.

The end of the Ninth Dialogue.

Dialogue

Dialogue X.

In what condition the Empire was when the Peace was concluded at Munſter, 1648. *And of the Golden Bull.*

P. WHen the unwelcome news of the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. his deplorable death had ſounded in the ears of all *Germany*, it ſtruck a ſenſible ſorrow upon the hearts of all thoſe that love peace, which he had procured for us, and fear the diſorders which uſually happen in the time of an *Interregnum*. I am one of that number; and that fear carrying my thoughts back to the ſad and calamitous times of his Reign, I deſire you to tell me ſomething of it.

G. *Ferdinand* III. Son to *Ferdinand* II. Nephew to *Charles* Archduke of *Gratz*, and great Nephew to the Emperor *Ferdinand* I. being born the 13. of *July* 1608. was placed upon the Throne of *Hungary* in the year 1625. and two years after, upon that of *Bohemia*. Then having given proof of his valour, prudence, and piety,

piety, he was choſen King of the Romans at *Ratisbon* in the year 1636. and on the 9. of *July* 1637. when his Father dyed, he took the Reins of the Empire into his hand, and was effectually Emperor, though his Enemies refuſed to give him the title, till the beginning of the Treaty of Peace which was concluded at *Munſter* the 24. of *October* 1648. That Prince having enjoyed but little health, and leſs quietneſs upon earth, entred into the fruition of Eternal reſt in Heaven the ſecond of *April* in the year 1657. which was the 20. of his Reign, and the 49. of his Age.

P. The deceaſe of that pious Prince was the innocent cauſe of the diſpute which is at this day between the Electors of *Bavaria* and Palatine, the firſt pretending that the Vicarſhip of the Empire is inſeparably annext to his Electorſhip, and the other, to the poſſeſſion of the Lower Palatinate: And I remember I have heard you ſay, that *Frederick* V. Father of this Palatine accepted the Crown of *Bohemia*, which *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of *Tranſylvania*, *John George* Elector of *Saxony*, and *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, had juſtly refuſed, when the *Bohemians* deſirous of novelty rejected their King; out of which temerarious engagement grew that War which hath afflicted Our Countrey for a long time. Now being I hold it more neceſſary to know the condition wherein *Germa-*

ny

ny was at the beginning and end of our troubles, then to learn in what ſtate *Rome* was at the time when *Julius Ceſar* broke and diſſolved the Triumvirate; I pray tell me what you know of it.

G. It is good to know ancient Hiſtories, but much better not to be ignorant in the modern. I therefore commend your curioſity, and for the ſatisfaction thereof ſhall tell you, it is worth your obſervation, that the peace of many years had filled *Germany* with riches, debauchery, and evil humours, which could not let Great men be quiet in the enjoyment of their ſuperabundant happineſs. I do not know whether it be, that our nature is always longing for new things, or that God uſually puniſhes our exceſſes, even in this life: But ſo it was, that the Head and principal Members of the Empire entred into a miſunderſtanding and diſtruſt of one another; while the firſt endeavouring to enlarge his authority, found himſelf in danger to loſe it; and the latter deſiring to preſerve their priviledges, filled their ſtates with miſery, deſolation and infinite mortalities.

P. Some think that the Houſe of *Auſtria* being arrived to a formidable greatneſs, projected deſigns proportioned to its ſtrength, and would have made it ſelf abſolute as well in *Germany*, as in its Eſtates of *Spain* and *Italy*; the apprehenſion whereof poſſeſſing our Nation, made it reſolve upon the dangerouſeſt way of preſerving

preserving it self, which is, to call in Strangers.

G. As in eating, one bit whets the stomach for another, so it is in rule and Government, where every addition creates a desire of enlargement. Yet I do not believe the House of *Austria*, which is naturally pious and just, had ever a design to enrich it self out of the spoils of another; but the affection it bears to the Religion of *Rome* doth easily perswade me, that it would willingly have leaped over any other consideration, to see the Protestants under the yoke of the Pope.

P. Do you think, that the zeal of Religion which is remarked in those Princes, was the cause of our Civil Wars?

G. It is not impossible but that zeal might have carried the pious disposition of *Ferdinand* II. upon some enterprize which might clash with that liberty of Religion which was tolerated by the Edicts of his Predecessors; and if you adde thereunto, with what ease he dissipated the dreadful Forces which *Frederick* V. Elector Palatine, *Bethlehem Gabor*, and his other Confederates had drawn together, you will make no further doubt, but that his good success inflamed and heightned that zeal of his; and that the same great Prince, believing his victories to be visible evidences that God called him to humble and bring down every thing that did not acknowledge the See of *Rome*, would have endeavoured to force consciences,

and

and make *Rome* to be reverenced in every place where his Sceptre was obeyed.

P. *Malvezzi* pretending to ſhow that the Houſe of *Auſtria* took up Arms only in its own defence, ſays that the greateſt part of the world conſpired its ruine in the year 1625.

G. That Marquiſs deſiring to raiſe beyond all compariſon the merit of *Don Gaſpar de Guſman*, Count of *Olivares*, and Duke of Saint *Lucar*, favourite to *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*, ſays that by vertue of a League made at *Avignon*, *Europe* and *Africa* laid their heads and joyned their hands together againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and that the felicity and prudence of that Favourite was ſuch, that the King his Maſter remained victorious every where: For, ſays he, when it was reſolved that the *Hollanders* ſhould ſet upon *Braſile*, the Armies of *France* and *Savoy* ſhould aſſault *Genoa*, the King of *England* ſhould ſend a Fleet to *Cadiz*, the King of *Denmark*, with the Proteſtants of *Germany* ſhould trouble the Empire, *Venice* ſhould aſſiſt the Duke of *Savoy* with money, and the *Griſons* with money and ammunition, to enable them to enter into the *Valteline*; that means ſhould be uſed to make peace between the *Turk* and the *Perſian*, to the end the firſt ſhould invade *Germany* through *Hungary*, and *Bethlehem Gabor* through *Tranſylvania*; that the *Hollanders* ſhould furniſh Canon and Canoneers to the Moores of *Africa* to beſiege

Mamora

Mamora and *Larache*: Yet that whirlwind was ſcattered by the breath of God, by the prudence of the Catholique King, and by the counſel of the Conde Duke; for that Lord ſent a Fleet to *Braſile*, which recovered the Bay of *Todos los Santos* that the *Hollanders* had taken; *Genoa* and the *Valteline* were relieved by two Armies, which reſcued the firſt when it was brought to the laſt gaſp; and preſerved the Catholique Religion in the ſecond; the Engliſh were forced to let *Cadiz* be quiet, after they had loſt 5000. men there; the *Hollanders* loſt *Breda*, the *Africans* were repelled from *Mamora* and *Larache* with notable loſs; and after the King of *Denmark* was beaten at the Battel of *Lutter*, and many other encounters, he was finally ſhut up into a corner within his Iſles.

P. It is true, that *Chriſtian* IV. King of *Denmark* did his buſineſs but ill in *Germany*; and that after the defeat of *Frederick* V. Elector Palatine, of *Charles* Count of *Mansfeld*, of *Chriſtian* of *Brunſwick* Biſhop of *Halberſtadt*, of *George Frederick* Marquiſs of *Dourlach*, and of that King, the Emperor was at a high point of proſperity and power.

G. After all thoſe victories the greateſt part of the World thought *Ferdinand* II. unconquerable, as well as he had been unconquered before. Now all *Europe* looking with an evil eye upon the too flouriſhing condition of the

Houſe

House of *Austria*; and the Emperor endeavouring to re-plant the Monks in their Cloysters from which they had been long excluded, and it may be to force all the Members of the Empire to go to Mass; *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, animated with the desire, or at least with the pretense of maintaining the Protestant Religion; and *Lewis* XIII. King of *France*, fearing that the oppression of *Germany* might bring both the Empire and *Europe* into slavery; they confederated with the States of *Holland* and some *German* Princes. So the Emperor had his hands full, on one side with the valianteſt Prince that ever wore sword for many years past, and on the other the wiſeſt Cardinal that ever was honoured with the Purple: And then *Ferdinand* knew that he had not fastened and secured the instability of Fortunes wheel.

P. Hercules had not been strong enough to resist so many powerful enemies; then it is no marvel, if both the counsel and courage of the Emperor were shaken.

G. The Emperor was not alone to bear that shock: For having honoured *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria* with the Dignity of *Frederick* V. Elector Palatine, he found him ready to follow his fortune, and serve him with all the strength of his mind, body and estates: *Ferdinand* Elector of *Collen*, brother to *Maximilian*, did the same; and the Duke of *Lorraine* forgeting

ing his own Interest, embraced that of the House of *Austria*; the Prelates and some other Princes of the Empire did the like, and entred into a Confederacy for that purpose.

P. Those were strong parties indeed; especially being amongst Nations that do not easily take Arms, and when they are once taken, do more hardly lay them down.

G. When the Forces of two Enemies are equal, if piety employ them to preserve liberty of Conscience, or vain-glory to get more Crowns, they produce sad and dismal effects, and bring destruction upon many Provinces. And so it hapned here, where love to Religion having united the Protestants of *Germany* to the King of *Sweden*, the current of his prosperities was so great and so sudden, that if death had not put a stop to his victories, without doubt his best friends would have had cause to entertain both jealousie and fear of him. But when that *Mars* had shot like thunder from the four corners, and through the midst of the Empire, so that neither powerful Armies, deep Rivers, thick Forests, nor impregnable Forts could stop the Torrent of his good success; he was slain at last the sixth of *November* 1632. That death did somewhat slacken those unparalleled prosperities; but a little after, the Generals that succeeded him, being assisted with the counsel and good instructions of Cardinal *Richelieu*, and with the Treasure of *France*, laid

laid the foundations of a longer and bloodier War: Which obliged the Elector of *Saxony* and some other Princes to change Interest, and endeavour to keep up the greatness of the House of *Austria*. So the Emperor being supported by the Catholique King, some Electors and other Potentates of *Germany* and *Italy*, and the *Swedes* assisted by the Forces of *France*, *Holland*, and some Protestant Princes; the match became so equal, that the War held on, sometimes with gain, sometimes with loss, from the year 1630. till 1648.

P. It is said that the last War of *Germany* continued 30. years without intermission.

G. It is true, that the *Bohemians* being perswaded that the Emperor *Matthias* derogated from their priviledges and the liberty of their Religion, when he gave judgement for the Catholiques in the case concerning some Churches which the Protestants had built at *Brunaw* and *Closstergrab*, conceived strange designs of revenge, and trusting to their own Forces, and those of their Confederates, they threw the principal Officers of the Realm headlong down from a Tower, created a new King, and took the field so suddenly, that *Ferdinand* II. their lawful King, and new Emperor, had cause to say, that Crowns have as much sharpness from their thorns, as lustre from their precious stones. But all that the Elector Palatine, the Counts *de la Tour* and *Mansfeld*, the Marquis

of *Dourlach*, and the King of *Denmark* attempted, did but serve to augment and improve the Forces, glory, and confidence of the Emperor. I count here only from the King of *Swedens* entring into *Germany* till the Peace, in which time there were fought within the Empire seven pitcht Battels, fourteen exceeding bloody Fights, and divers others of less note, which have reduced our Countrey unto so miserable a condition, that one can hardly find a whole unruined house in the *Campania*, nor one Province throughout all the Empire that hath half so much people in it, as it had before the last troubles.

P. Famine and Plague, those usual attendants of War, came also into play, and rifled a world of people. But since the relation of past evils is pleasant to those that have gone through them, it will not be troublesome to you to tell me, at what time, in what place, and by whom those Battels and Combats were fought, and who had the better or the worse in them.

G. The first Battel was given at *Leipsick* in *Misnia*, between *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden* of glorious memory, on the one part, and the Imperialists with their Confederates under the command of Count *Tilly* on the other, wherein the *Swedes* got the victory *September* 7. 1631. The second was fought at *Lutzen* not far from *Leipsick*, *November* 6. 1632. between the *Swedes* having their King

for

for *Generalissimo*, and the Imperial Army commanded by *Albert Walleſtein* Duke of *Fridland*. In that Battel the *Swedes* had the victory by the reſolution of *Bernard* Duke of *Saxony* and their other Generals, but it coſt them their King, who was the *Ceſar* of our age; and the Emperor on his ſide loſt the flower of his Souldiers, and the *Achilles* of *Germany*, I mean the incomparable *Godfrey* Count of *Papenheim*.

P. That King, whoſe valour was beyond all example, ought not to dye but triumphing; and *Papenheim* could not fall but in the company of ſo great a Prince: But it is a thing very extraordinary, that an Army ſhould remain victorious, where the Commander in chief was ſlain in the very beginning of the Fight; and we hear but of few Princes that have triumphed in their death. *Paſs* we on to the other Battels.

G. The third was at *Hamelen*, *July* 28. 1663. between the *Swedes*, *Heſſians*, and *Lunebourgers*, commanded by *George* Duke of *Lunebourg* General of the Circle of Lower *Saxony*, and the Imperialiſts under the conduct of the Counts of *Merode* and *Grandsfeld*; where the latter were worſted. The fourth, which was the firſt wherein the Emperor had the victory, and was one of the bloodieſt that had been ſeen in 30. years before, dyed with generous blood the Plains of *Nortlingnen* an Imperial City of *Swaben*, *September* 6. 1634. *Ferdinand* King

of *Hungary*, who afterwards was Emperor, commanded his Fathers Army; and being seconded by the Troops and person of *Ferdinand* Infante of *Spain*, and of *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, he assaulted and vanquisht *Bernard* Duke of *Weymar* and *Gustavus Horn* Marshal of *Sweden*, who commanded the Swedish Troops. That victory was so great, that the Swedish party had apparently fallen to nothing, if the most Christian King had not contributed his cares and forces to set them up again.

P. After that Battel *John de Werdt* took and stript above 50. Gentlemen or Gentlewomen at the Castle of *Neuberg*.

G. I have reason to remember that misfortune; for though I were at a great distance from thence, yet I lost very much there. The Fifth made *Wistock* in the Marquisate of *Brandenbourg* much spoken of. It was there that *John George* I. of that name, Elector of *Saxony*, who had embraced the Imperial Party, and was assisted by General *Hatzfeld*, was beaten by *John Bannier* that Heroical *Swede*, *September* 24. 1636. The sixth was fought at *Leipsick*, in the same place where the first was, without any alteration, but that the Imperialists took that ground which the *Swedes* had before: but though they changed their place, they did not change their fortune; for *Torstenson* overcame the Archduke *Leopold William* and *Octavio Piccolomini* Duke of *Amalfi*, renowned Generals of the Imperial Army.

P. The Catholiques have hitherto won but one of the ſix Battels wherein they engaged with their enemies: Who got the laſt victory?

G. The *Swedes* that were entred into *Bohemia* under the command of *Leonard Torſtenſon*, did there at a place called *Jancon* ſet upon Count *Hatzfeld* General of the Imperial Forces, and utterly routed him, *Feb.* 24. 1645. Theſe two laſt Battels, together with many combats and taking of Towns, gained an immortal name to that Swediſh General, who was forced to leave the exerciſe of Souldiery before he was forty years old, the Gout having taken away the uſe of all his Limbs, except his Tongue, which I have heard him uſe in accuſing of fortune for having too early deprived him of the means of gaining Crowns of Laurel. That great perſonage having thus made himſelf illuſtrious by Military actions, *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden* gave him the name with the County of *Ortila*; and Hiſtory bearing the marks of his eminent vertue, will always give him this teſtimony, that he was equal to the greateſt Captains of ancient times.

P. If the gallant men that commanded and dyed in thoſe Battels, had been employed againſt the Turk, I am perſwaded he had been brought to bow down to the Croſs, and yield obedience to the Chriſtians.

G. I think ſo too; and it is a wonder that ſo much blood being run out of the veins of our

Germany, hath not brought her even to her grave. Yet this is not all; she hath lost more valiant persons in the Fights which I am going to relate, then in the pitcht Battels. The first was that of the King of *Sweden*, who set upon the Imperial Army entrenched and commanded by *Wallestein* at *Furts* upon the Old Mountain, *August* 24. 1632. and was forced to retreat with very great loss, giving a remarkable example, that Great men commit great errors, and that the courage of the Lion doth rarely cohabit with the subtilty of the Fox; because in some, that heat of the heart which is requisite to make a man undaunted, dissipates and quickens the coldness of the brain; in others, that predominant temper of the brain communicates such a faint and languishing quality to the heart as obstructs and setters its activity. The second was fought by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenbourg* (when they were confederated with the *Swedes*) against the Imperialists, who were worsted near *Lignitz* in *Silesia* *May* 3. 1634. The third was that of *Rheimfeld*, where *Bernard* Duke of *Weymar* beat the Duke of *Savelli* and *John de Werdt*, who commanded the Imperial and *Bavarian* Troops, in several encounters from the 18. till the 21. of *February*, 1638. The fourth was given at *Wittenvoyer* in *Brisgou*, where the same Duke of *Saxon-Weymar* did again beat the Imperialists and Bavarians commanded by the Count of *Gotzen*

Gotzen and the Duke of *Savelli*, *July* 30. 1638. Then that Prince crowned all his former actions, when he ſent ſome Generals priſoners to *Paris*, and obliged all *Europe* to confeſs, that few things were impoſſible for him to do, ſince, notwithſtanding all the power of his Enemies uſed to the contrary, he forced the Virgin City of *Briſac* to ſubmit her ſelf unto his will.

P. If I be not miſtaken, Marquiſs *Virgilio Malvezzi* ſpeaking of the Duke *Bernard* in a little Treatiſe which he made and intituled, *Of the ſucceſſes of the Monarchy of* Spain, *which happned in the year* 1639. ſays, that Prince was more often vanquiſhed then victorious; and you ſay, that he obtained two great victories in one year.

G. I never ſaid he was invincible; but I dare confidently affirm, that he was never beaten for want of courage or conduct: And *Malvezzi* himſelf acknowledging that he won more then he loſt, doth alſo confeſs, that the deſign which he had to keep in a Body by himſelf, and to exchange the places he held in *Burgundy* for thoſe of *Colmar*, *Seleſtadt* and *Benfeld*, thereby to make himſelf maſter of *Strasbourg*, and by the means of that great and wealthy City to maintain a high reputation as long as the War laſted, and to enter upon a Peace with advantage, were great thoughts, but nothing diſproportionable to the ſpirit, fortune, and valour of that excellent Prince. The fifth Com-

bat hapned, *April* 4. 1639. near *Kemnitz* in *Misnia*, where *Bannier* the *Swedes* General overcame the Imperialists and *Saxons* commanded by General *Salis*. The sixth was an action of the Archduke *Leopold* and *Picolomini*, more bold then well advised, when they set upon the *Swedes*, *French* and *Lunebourgers* in their Trenches at *Wolfenbottel*, and were beaten back with the loss of their Foot, and the left wing of their Horse, *June* 19. 1641. The seventh signalized Mareshal *Guebriant* in the Archbishoprick of *Collen*, where having the conduct of the French Army, he beat and took prisoner Baron *Lamboy* General of the Emperors Confederates, *January* 17. 1642.

P. After the taking of *Lamboy*, Mareshal *Gnebriant* was very seasonably backed by *Frederick Henry* of *Nassau* Prince of *Orange*.

G. That German *Alexander* did a special piece of service to his Allies at that time, taking up his Quarters between *Rhimberg* and *Orsoy*, to succour the Mareshal in case the Spaniards should draw towards him. The eighth Combat hapned near *Schweinitz* in *Silesia*, where *Torstenson* surprised *Francis Albert* Duke of *Saxon-Lawembourg*, General of the Imperialists and *Saxons*, who were so soundly beaten there, that their General remained dead upon the place, *May* 21. 1642. In the ninth there was but little blood shed, but a total rout of the French Army, which after the death of Mareshal

Mareſhall *Guebriant*, being commanded by Count *Ioſias de Rantzau*, was ſurpriſed by the Bavarian Forces under the conduct of *Hatzfeld*, and *John de Werdt* at *Dutlinguen* a little Town in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, and nothing was ſaved but a part of the Horſe led by General *Roſe*.

P. The death of the Count *de Guebriant* occaſioned that defeat; and the loſs of his perſon was valued at no leſs a rate, then that of all his Troops, becauſe of the good ſervices he had, and might ſtill have performed.

G. That Mareſhal was exceedingly beloved by the German Troops, being a man of ſingular courage and conduct, and ſo careful of them, that in his time they were alwayes very well paid. The tenth would have ſtrucken the very trees with fear and admiration, if they had had any ſenſe, for *Lewis de Bourbon*, then Duke of *Anguyen* and now Prince of *Conde*, made five aſſaults upon the Bavarian Army entrenched upon a mountain near *Fribourg* in *Briſgou*, where he ſlew their General *Gaſpar de Mercy* in the yeare 1644. forced the Enemies army to quit their Poſte, and afterwards went to take *Philipſbourg* and ſome other places, though he had loſt very much brave Nobility. The Eleventh made *Merkendal* in *Franconia* to be talked of, where Mareſhal *Turenne* General of the French Forces was ſurpriſed by *Francis de Mercy* General of the Bavarians, *November* 14.

14. 1645. The loſs nevertheleſs was not ſo great as ſome Writers would perſwade us, if that be true which I have been told upon the place. The Twelfth was fought by the French and Heſſian armies againſt the Bavarian, wherein the loſs was almoſt equal; but *Francis* Baron *de Mercy* was ſlain there, and the Duke of *Anguyen*, Mareſhal *Turenne*, and *Geis* remained maſters of the Field, and had the ſpoil of the dead, *May*. 5. 1646.

P. It ſeemes there is a kind of fatality in things of this world: here were two brethren, both Generals of the *Bavarians*, and both ſlain in fight by the Duke of *Anguyen*. It is further remarkable, that the *French* got few or no victories, but they coſt them very much blood.

G. Ordinarily the *French* would carry all by main force, and think thoſe victories but little honourable that are gotten by ſurprize: Nevertheleſs the Generals that are ſparing of their Souldiers lives, have alwayes been, and are ſtill more eſteemed, then they that part with them at ſo cheap a rate. The thirteenth Fight was a ſudden unforeſeen engagement, wherein the Armies of *Sweden* and *France* commanded by the Mareſhals *Charles Guſtavus Wrangel*, & *Henry de la Tour* Prince of *Turenne*, both equally reſolute and prudent, having accidentally fallen upon the Imperial and Bavarian Forces under the conduct of *Melander* (otherwiſe called

called the Count of *Holtzapfel* and *Gronsfeld*) forced them off their ground, and pursued them about two Leagues with great effusion of blood, which yet had been far greater, if *Ulrick* Duke of *Wirtemberg* had not stopped that Torrent by a resolution worthy of his Courage, withstanding all the Enemies Forces only with two squadrons of Foot & two Bodies of Horse, and so giving leisure to those of his Party to rally and recover a place of safety after the death of *Melander* General of the Imperialists; which action in the opinion of both Parties preserved *Austria* and *Bavaria* The last Combat was fought *June* 4. 1648. near *Grewembrouck* in the Country of *Iuliers*, where the Hessian Army under the conduct of General *Geis* had a great advantage over the Imperial, commanded by Baron *Lamboy*.

P. I have heard it said by persons of credit, who had principal command in that Engagement, that *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtemberg* did wonders there.

G. I know if it had not been for that Prince, the Hessians had been beaten; for their Horse gave ground; and they had not gotten the day but for that Duke, who commanded the Foot, and both by his example encouraged those that remained in the field, and by his resolution called back those that were fled. But that was not the only place where Duke *Frederick* of *Wirtemberg* made his courage to be taken notice

tice of. It was he himself, that with his Regiment, having the Van in the Fight at St. *Antony*, pulled down the Paliſſades, and made way for the Horſe to paſs, when Mareſhall *Guebriant* took Baron *Lamboy* priſoner: So that it may be ſaid, without flattering him, or wronging the other Officers, it was he that got the victory in thoſe two Combats.

P. I imagine that you ſpeak not here of any but the moſt memorable actions, it being almoſt impoſſible there ſhould have been ſo few engagements of Armies and encounters of Parties in a War wherein all *Europe* was concerned, and where ſtrangers, *French*, *Spaniards*, *Swedes*, and *Lorrainers* were mingled with the *Germans*, & plaid their parts for many years together.

G. You have reaſon; And I confeſs, to write that war would make a great Volume, which is not my intention. Nevertheleſs I ſhall tell you, that *July* 31. 1633. Prince *Chriſtian* Palatine of *Birkenfeld*, having the ſword of *Joſias* Count of *Rantzau* to aſſiſt him, and ſome Swediſh Troops under his command, beat the Lorrainers near *Pfaffenhoven* in the Lower Alſatia, *March*. 2. 1634. the *Rhingrave Otho Lewis*, General of ſome confederate Swedes, defeated the Count of *Salme* at *Wateweil* in the upper *Alſatia*: and *October* 7. 1638. Count *Hatzfeld* an Imperialiſt, ſcattered the Troops which *Charles Lewis* Elector Palatine had joyned

ed to some Swedes near *Blotu* in the County of *Lippe*.

P. So many Fights and Battels, so many takings and desolations of Cities, and so many Mortalities having afflicted and wasted *Germany* for many years continuance; at length the two parties being weary as well of beating as of being beaten, a resolution of peace was mutually taken. Tell me, I pray, in what condition affairs were when that was concluded.

G. You have already heard, there was never a Province in the Empire, which by fire and sword, by plague and famine, had not lost above half its people, and which was not reduced to extreme misery: yet to recover the Treasure of Peace, *Germany* was content to lay down another, and pay the Swedes five millions of gold for the charges of the war; one part whereof was employed to satisfie the souldiery, another to recompence the valour of those that had served well, and the rest to be disposed in liberalities by their Queen.

P. Did the French lay down armes, without being re-imbursed what they spent in that War?

G. That Nation did not consent to the Peace without knowing why and wherefore; but it rather gave, or promised money, then received any: And all its recompence consists in a part of *Alsatia*, and the Fortresses of *Brisac* and *Philipsbourg*; from which *France* reaps more

honour

honour then profit, the Province being unable to furnish wherewithal to keep those places, and pay the Civil Officers that should administer Justice there.

P. I know the most Christian King obliged himself to pay the Archduke of *Inspruck* three millions of Livres, in case he could prevail with the Catholique King to quit the pretensions he had or might have upon *Alsatia*. But had the Crown of *Sweden* and its Confederates many Troops and places in *Germany*, when the Peace was made?

G. The Crown of *Sweden* had at that time five Regiments of Swedish and Finland Horse, four and forty of German Horse, and five of Dragons, which reckoned with some Troops that were in Garrison, amounted all together to 411. Companies. It had also threescore Regiments of Foot, of the same Nations as the former were, to wit, one and twenty of *Swedes* and *Finlanders*, and nine and thirty of *Germans*; but they were not all of like strength: For the five Regiments of Swedish and Finland Horse had but one and thirty Troops in all; and those of the Foot of the same Nation were of four, five, six, seven, or eight Companies at the most; and of the Germans, that of the Kings Guards was of Twenty Companies, and those of the higher Officers, nay the greatest part of the rest, were of twelve Companies apiece.

P. By

P. By what you ſaid laſt, I perceive *Germany* made War upon *Germany*, and the *Swedes* made uſe of us to overcome our ſelves: Let us ſee whether the French did not ſo too.

G. We are blamed for loving money too much, and the honour of our Nation too little. Now it is certain, that although the *Swedes* have always had Commanders worthy of Empire, and that after their King, *Guſtavus Horn*, *John Bannier*, *Leonard Torſtenſon*, *Charles Guſtavus Wrangel*, *Wittemberg*, and ſome others have equalled or ſurpaſſed the ancient Heroes, ſignalizing their valour in our late Wars; yet they had gone out of the Empire with as much ſhame, and as well beaten as the *Danes* and *Tranſylvanians*, if they had not had Religion for a pretenſe, our bodies for a buckler, and our courages for the inſtruments of their glory. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the French: They have had Generals of their Nation who have always performed the duty of wiſe Captains and valiant Souldiers, and have no leſs deſerved the name of Gallant men, though they have fought with leſs ſucceſs then the *Swedes*; but as to the reſt, the French Troops were oftentimes the leaſt part of their Army. The French that have commanded in *Germany*, are the Mareſhals of *La Force*, *Guebriant*, and *Grammont*, the Cardinal *de la Valette*, the Dukes of *Longueville* and *Anguien*, and the Prince of *Turenne*, who had under his command,

mand, at the time when the Peace was made, a hundred and nine Cornets of Light Horſe, and ſixteen Companies of Dragoons, in fourteen Regiments, not reckoning two Companies which were in the Lower Palatinate, two in the Biſhoprick of *Spire*, and three in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*. Beſides that Cavallery, the French had a hundred and threeſcore Companies in eleven Regiments of Infantry, and ten Companies at *Briſac*, three and forty in *Briſgou*, four in the Biſhoprick of *Strasbourg*, twenty in ſeveral Imperial Cities of the Palatinate and *Alſatia*, fifteen in the Biſhoprick of *Spire*, nine in the Lower Palatinate, thirteen in *Lawingnen*, eleven in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, ſix in *Swaben*, twelve in the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz*, and three in the Marquiſate of *Baden*; which make in all three hundred and ſix Companies as well French as Germans.

P. So far as I perceive, the Confederates had prodigious Forces.

G. That is not all; the *Amazon* of *Germany*, *Amelia Elizabeth* Landgraveſs of *Heſſe*, who raiſed up her Eſtate when it was beaten as it were down to the ground, and by an unparalleled prudence enlarged the ſtraits ſhe was brought into, and augmented her Forces when ſhe was thought to be overwhelmed with calamities after the death of *William* V. her husband; had at the concluſion of the peace eight and fifty Cornets of Horſe in five Regiments,

ments, and 166. Companies of Foot in thirteen, without putting into the account fourteen unregimented Companies.

P. I do not wonder that so many Troops conducted by good Heads obliged the Emperor to a disadvantagious Peace: For I cannot think that his Majesty and his Allies had so many Forces, after they had been worsted in several encounters.

G. I do not certainly know the number of the Imperial and Bavarian Troops, but doubtless they were very powerful, since their Confederate Adversaries were obliged by the Treaty to restore 210. strong places wherein they had garrison, and out of which it is probable the whole Empire would hardly have been able to drive them by force.

P. I know the *Swedes* had Garrisons in 125. places of *Germany*, the French in 46. and the Hessians in 39. But some of the best are theirs still.

G. It is true, that by the Treaty of Peace the Empire agreed to yield unto the most Christian King, for him and his Successors, Kings of *France* for ever, the Cities and Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, with *Mojenvic*, *Pignerol*, *Brisac*, the Landgravedom of *Alsatia*, the *Undgerib*, the Bailywick of *Haguenau* and the Fortress of *Philipsbourg*: That by the same Treaty the Empire quitted and granted unto the Queen and Kingdom of *Sweden* all the Hi-

ther *Pomerania*, with the Island and Principality of *Rugia*, and the Cities of *Stetin*, *Garts*, *Dam*, *Holnau*, the Isle of *Wollin*, the River of *Oder*, and the port which it makes by the name of *Frischehaff*; the Collation of those Ecclesiastical Benefices which the Dukes of *Pomerania* heretofore had in the Bishoprick of *Camin*, and the expectance or Reversion of that Bishopriek, nay, of the rest of *Pomerania*, and even of the new Marquisate of *Brandenbourg*, in case the heirs male of that Family should happen to fail.

P. The *Swedes* received five millions of gold for the money they disbursed in that War; and besides such a considerable summe, *Pomerania* (which is more worth then *Alsatia*) is left in their hands.

G. They have not only received that summe, and *Pomerania*, but *Wismar* also a Port of the Baltique Sea, the Fortress of *Walfisch*, the Bailiwick of *Poel* and *Neucloster*, which heretofore belonged to the House of *Mekelebourg*, and which is yet more, the Archbishoprick of *Bremen* and Bishoprick of *Verden* converted into Dutchies, together with the City and Bailywick of *Wilshausen*. In all which lands and Principalities the *Swedes* have Soverain Justice, right to erect an University, and to set Impossts upon all commodities that enter into, go out of, or grow within the Countrey by them conquered and possessed. So by that Peace the King of *Sweden* hath gotten the names

and

and titles of Duke of *Bremen*, *Verden*, and *Pomerania*, Prince of *Rugia*, and Lord of *Wismar*.

P. You told me before, that during the last War the *Swedes* had more Forces in *Germany* then the French; and I see now, they have reaped much more profit: make me understand what satisfaction the Heroical Lady of *Hesse* received.

G. That Princess which reigned in the hearts of all those that have had the honour to speak with her, had too well served the victorious Party to remain without satisfaction. It was therefore accorded unto her, for her self, her son *William*, and their Successors for ever, that besides the general clause of the Article *Tandem omnes*, they should enjoy the Abbey of *Hirchfeld*, with all its appurtenances, as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, as well without as within the Territory of the said Abbey; and the right, Lordships, and demesnes of the Cities and Bailywicks of *Schaumbourg*, *Bukembourg*, *Saxenhagnen* and *Stathagnen*, which heretofore belonged to the Bishoprick of *Minden*, and 600000 Crowns in money payable at *Cassel* within nine moneths after the publication of the Peace. And for an accomplishment and full measure of satisfaction, the Assembly of *Munster* ratified the transaction between the two Branches of *Cassel* and *Darmstadt* made by the mediation of *Ernest* Duke of *Saxon-Gotta*,

April 14. 1649. and the right of Primogeniture in those two Branches.

P. Those satisfactions were (without question) of very hard digestion to the contrary party; but a good Peace cannot be bought too dear.

G. The Emperor lost nothing; for by giving up his right in *Alsatia*, he made the Kingdom of *Bohemia* Hereditary to his House: But the Spaniards will not easily be able to comfort themselves for that loss, because if *Alsatia* and *Lorraine* remain in the hands of the French, it will be impossible for them to joyn their Forces of *Italy* with those of the Low Countreys, unless they transport them by Sea with great expense and greater danger, or through the Territories of others; which cannot be done, without buying the friendship of those that are not willing to see the formidable forces of *Spain* united: And from hence grows a great advantage to the French by that Treaty.

P. Methinks I am now sufficiently instructed in that which concerns our *Germany*: But having heard nothing hitherto of the Golden Bull, except some words which you have scattered here and there, I would gladly hear you discourse more amply of it.

G. That Bull is the Diamond Nail which holds together these remainders of the Empire, and keeps them from dissolution, by the wholesome Ordinances which it contains, touching

touching the time, the place, and the persons which ought to concur to the Election of the Emperor; the number, immunities, and preheminences of the Electors; the integrity, candor, and probity which they ought to use in choosing the first Prince of Christendom; the order they ought to keep in their Assemblies, as well while they accompany the Emperor, as in their seats and places; and to cut off all occasion of dispute between the Princes of the Electoral Houses, the Emperor by that Edict sets down and prescribes the order they are to observe in their successions, who ought to be Tutor and Guardian of their sons during their Minority, and at what age they are to come out of Wardship. Now because Elective Estates have no symptom more dangerous, then while they lie under an *Interregnum*, the Bull provides a remedy for that inconvenience, ordaining that the Electors Palatine and of *Saxony* shall be his Majesties perpetual Vicars, and shall have the same power after his death, or in his absence, that the Emperor had while he was living and present. Lastly that Bull contains the office of every Elector at the Coronations, Processions, and publick Feasts of the Emperor.

P. Methinks in that Bull the Emperor *Charles* IV. hath had more care of the Electors, then of all the Empire besides.

G. The Electors are the principal Pillars of

our State; and the Emperor thinking the deſtruction of the Empire might follow upon their diſſenſion, his ſpecial aim was to keep them united together by his Ordinance, and to provide for the time to come that there ſhould be no diſorder in the Election of the Emperors, nor in the Succeſſion of the Princes Electors; that the ſeptenary number ſhould continue for ever, as moſt proper for an action of ſo great importance.

P. Is that Bull of any bigneſs?

G. It is a little book, the Original whereof bing written in parchment, containes 24. leaves, and 30. Chapters, of which the 23. firſt were publiſhed at *Nuremberg* the 10. of *January*, 1356. and the other ſeven at *Metz*, on Chriſtmas day in the ſame year, by the full power of his Majeſty, in the preſence and with the conſent of the moſt part of the Princes, Lords, and other Eſtates of the Empire, the Emperor wearing the Imperial Cloak, and having the Crown upon his head, the Scepter in one hand, and the Ball of the Empire in the other.

P. Why is that little book called *The Golden Bull*?

G. The Letters Patents of Emperors, Popes, and ſome other great Princes are called *Bulls*, by reaſon of the ſeal which gives them their ſtrength and validity. Thoſe *Bulls* or Seals are not alwayes of the ſame matter, nor of the ſame bigneſs,

bigneſs, but according to the importance of the Letters the Seal is greater or leſs, and of different wax or metal. The ordinary Letters are ſealed with an impreſſion made upon wax, the colour and bigneſs whereof encreaſeth either the reſpect to, or the honour of thoſe perſons to whom they are directed; and thoſe that contain Edicts, are ſealed with lead, ſilver or gold, according to the importance of the Laws which the Prince publiſhes. From hence it was, that this perpetual and irrevocable Edict, containing the fundamental Laws of the Empire, ought to be ſealed with his Majeſties great ſeal, and not upon wax, lead, or ſilver, but upon gold, to ſhow that as that metal is incorruptible, & the moſt excellent of all; ſo the matters contained in that Bull, being the principal Laws of the Empire, ſhould be preſerved there without alteration.

P. Tell me more particularly of what faſhion that Bull is.

G. The Bull which hangs at the Parchment book which we laſt mentioned, is a great round ſeal of pure gold, faſtened unto ſmall cords of yellow and red ſilk, on one ſide whereof there is the Portraiture of the Emperor *Charles* IV. ſeated upon his Throne, with the Crown on his head, the Sceptre in one hand, and the Ball in the other, having at his right hand the Imperial Arms, and thoſe of *Bohemia* at his left, with this Inſcription round about

the Bull, *Carolus quartus, Divinâ favente clementiâ, Romanorum Imperator, semper Augustus, & Bohemiæ Rex.* On the other side of the Bull there is a Castle with two Towers, at the bottom and middle whereof there is seen a Gate with these words, *Aurea Roma*, and these in the Circumference, *Roma caput mundi, regit Orbis frœna rotundi.*

P. Those Laws are fortified with a Seal that declares their importance; and I am confident the Emperor will derogate as little from them as he can.

G. Usually Laws cannot be abrogated but by those that made them, and for that reason I believe, though the Emperor should be desirous to annul the *Golden Bull*, he would not be permitted so to do, because it was published by the advice, and with the consent of the Electors, and many other Princes and Estates of the Empire, who are to concur to its abrogation. But the Bull is so advantagious to the Electors, that they have no reason to desire the suppression of it, nor so much as give way that any thing in it should be changed or altered.

P. I do not think the Laws contained in the *Golden Bull* should be totally abolished: yet on the other side I do not doubt but something of them may be changed, if the necessity of the Empire require it.

G. It is certain that those Laws will never be

be wholly abrogated, unless the face of the Empire be changed by becoming Hereditary, in which case they would all fall of themselves. As to particularities, it is as certain that something in those Laws may be changed, since the Legislators have often derogated from them, and even in a matter of great importance, the Septenary number of the Electors having been altered into another less convenient by the last Treaty of Peace: Besides, we have elsewhere seen, that although the Election of the King of the Romans ought to be made at *Francfort* by vertue of that Bull, yet *Ferdinand* I. received that honour at *Wormes*, and other Emperors since at other Cities. That Bull doth also ordain, that all the Electors should assist at the Mass of the Holy Ghost, before they begin the Act of the Election; and yet the Protestant Electors are not obliged to be at Church while the Ceremony of the Mass lasts. From whence it may be concluded, that some of the Laws of the *Golden Bull* may be altered and dispensed with. But I believe I have entertained you long enough upon things that concern the Empire, and therefore I shall proceed no further, but make an end of this Treatise, praying the Almighty that by his grace he would enable you to learn from hence how to serve your Country well, & me to give you as good an account of the other principal parts of Europe as I have done of *Germany*.

THE END.

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The

The most considerable misprintings or mistakes you may be pleased to correct thus;

Page.	Lin.	
21.	14.	for *us* read *you*.
80.	14.	for *too* read *two*.
93.	11.	read, lesse potent then those.
161	1.	for *or* read *Or*.
162.	14.	read, to the authority of Kings.
207.	12.	for *Montgarat* read *Stutgardt*.
240.	17.	read, *speaking*.
272.	19.	for *Germany* read *Almaine*.
286.	18.	for *those* read *that*.
305.	16.	for *Branches* read *Benches*.
328.	12.	read, of Collen, near St. Antony, where

The rest, it is hoped, are so little, as they may easily escape by your connivence or oversight.

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